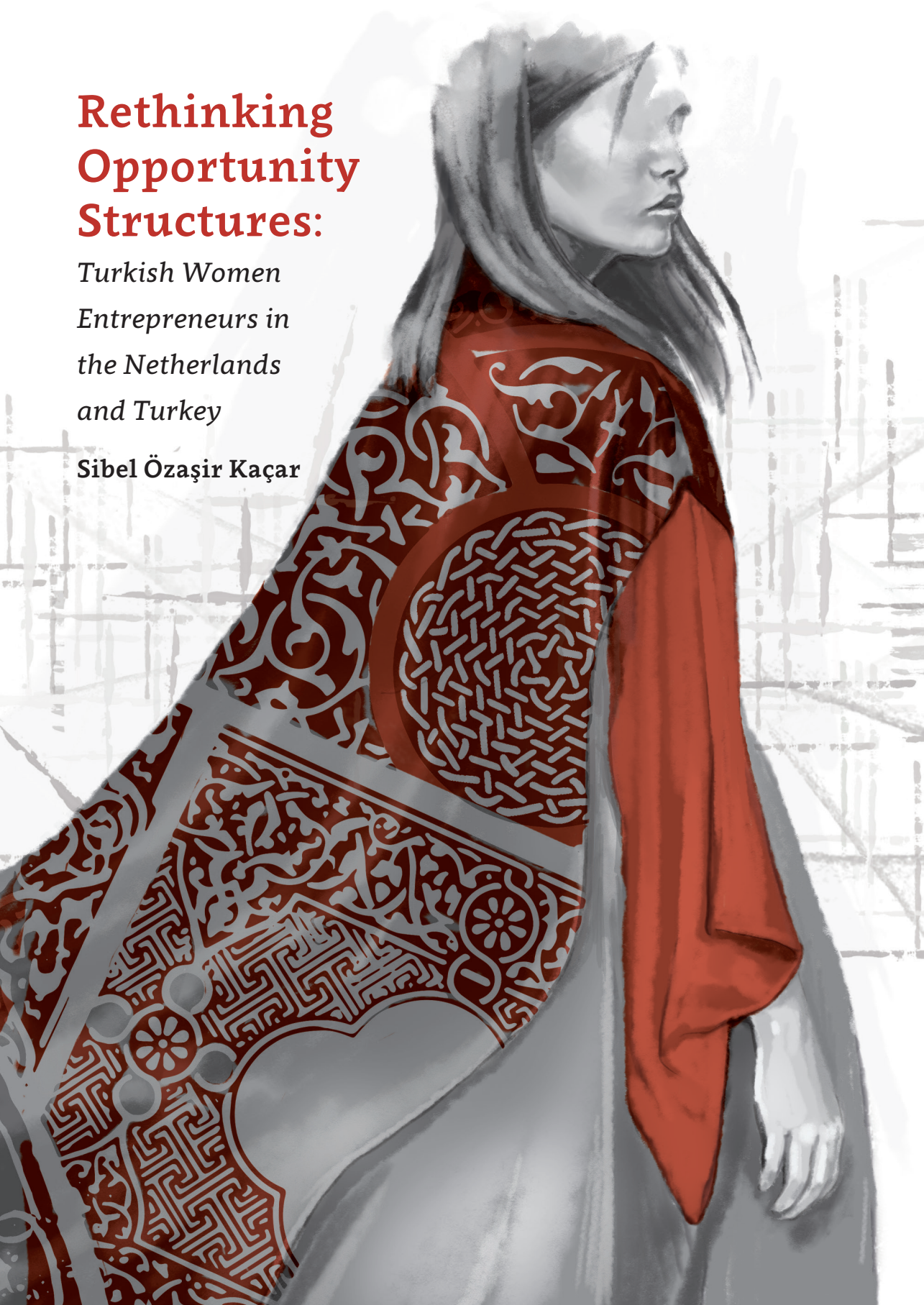
Rethinking Opportunity Structures:

Turkish Women Entrepreneurs in the Netherlands and Turkey

Sibel Özaşir Kaçar



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Doctoral Thesis

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by

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Contents

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Background

My interest in a contextual understanding of entrepreneurial identity and experience started when I moved to the Netherlands and started my Entrepreneurship Master's program at VU University. I heard interesting stories of women entrepreneurs and their experiences in the Netherlands and wrote my Master's thesis based on a women-owned enterprise in Turkey. It fascinated me to see how these women experienced entrepreneurship in different ways depending on the context of these two different countries. I decided to explore the contextual influences in relation to entrepreneurial identities and experiences of women entrepreneurs in both Turkey and the Netherlands. Later, my interest in studying Turkish women entrepreneurs was reinforced by prior studies stating that 'migrant women entrepreneurs are usually and typically marginalized within the dominant entrepreneurship discourse which in itself is gendered and ethnocentrically biased' (Verduijn and Essers, 2013, p. 613). This statement kept my attention because of my background and experiences as being a woman and of Turkish origin as well as having migrated to the Netherlands for corporate experience and engaged in entrepreneurship activities in the Dutch design industry.

In my dissertation, I use the concept of 'opportunity structures' to study these contextual influences. I define this term according to Johns' (2006) understanding of the external environment as situational opportunities and constraints that affect the occurrence and characteristics of entrepreneurial behaviour. Opportunity structures such as bank loans, government regulations, or entrepreneurship policies are quite extensively studied in the migrant entrepreneurship literature through the 'mixed embeddedness perspective' (Kloosterman, van der Leun, and Rath, 1999; Kloosterman, 2010; Ram and Jones, 2008; Jones et al., 2014). In these studies, opportunity structures are considered to be the demand side of the entrepreneurship market, referring to market conditions and access to businesses including inter-ethnic competition and state policies, which provide material resources for migrant entrepreneurs (Kloosterman et al., 1999).

Group characteristics such as migration, culture, resource mobilization, and ethnic social networks are often distinguished from opportunity structures (Rath, 2000) and seen as the supply side of the equation (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). However, this classification has been criticized by several researchers such as Carter et al. (2015), who feel too little attention is being paid to gender in influencing opportunity structures, or by Tseng (2004), for whom the impacts of class and ethnic context on opportunity structures are undervalued.

Opportunity structures are also considered as factors that dictate how an entrepreneur should be within the limits of a society or business environment (Rusinovic, 2006). Entrepreneurs either conform to these opportunity structures and enact their identities within the prevailing social framework or construct their identities at the

boundaries (Ghorashi, 2010; Essers and Benschop, 2007). The major assumption behind these discussions regarding the relationship between structure and agency is not new. Giddens' structuration theory (1984) has been used quite extensively in the field of entrepreneurship with various new perspectives applied such as critical realism or the dualistic approach (Mole and Mole, 2010; Sarason, Dean, and Dillard, 2006). However, the agency of entrepreneurs in their relationships with these opportunity structures is not yet fully recognized (Lewis, 2013).

The problems with the current knowledge regarding this relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences are three-fold. First, it is assumed that there is a one-way linear relationship between opportunity structures, on the one hand, and the way in which they define how identities are constructed and entrepreneurship is experienced, on the other hand. Entrepreneurs are considered to be trapped in conventional structures of power, and so forced to engage in activities on the edges that opportunity structures allow (Sarason et al., 2006). Second, opportunity structures are typically assumed to be neutral, influencing each and every entrepreneur in the same way (Mole and Mole, 2010). It is rarely acknowledged that entrepreneurs perceive and reframe opportunity structures differently or that some of these opportunity structures are specifically targeted to certain groups of people for specific reasons. Third, the influence of opportunity structures on entrepreneurs is predominantly considered in terms of material resources (Archer, 2000). Discursive practices or the power relations embedded in these structures are frequently ignored (Ahl, 2006).

In this dissertation, I reconsider opportunity structures for women and migrant entrepreneurs. I set out to build a comprehensive understanding of the opportunity structures that exist in particular for women entrepreneurs with a Turkish background in the Netherlands and Turkey, with a focus on the social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class. I use the intersectionality approach (Crenshaw, 1989) as a tool in analysing these social categories to understand both the concepts of opportunity structure and entrepreneurial identity and experience and the relationship between these two concepts.

In this opening chapter, I first discuss theoretical conceptualizations of opportunity structure, entrepreneurial identity and experience, as well as social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class. I then explain the theoretical framework concerning these concepts. Accordingly, I propose the major research question together with the sub-questions answered in each chapter. Lastly, I detail aspects of the two national contexts of Turkey and the Netherlands, explain the methodology used throughout the study, and highlight the outline of the dissertation.

Concepts and theoretical framework

In the literature on entrepreneurship, context awareness has developed intensively in the past two decades (Gartner and Birley, 2002; Zahra, 2007; Hjorth, Jones, and Gartner, 2008; van Gelderen, Verduyn, and Masurel, 2012). Several researchers have studied context in relation to entrepreneurial action, in terms of entrepreneurs co-creating their ventures together with their environment (Welter, Gartner, and Wright, 2016). Many of these studies have considered context in terms of a single dimension, such as the influence of institutions on entrepreneurship conceptualisations (Letaifa and Goglio-Primard, 2016) or on entrepreneurial behaviour (Welter and Smallbone, 2011), or the interaction between national culture and entrepreneurship (Hayton, George, and Zahra, 2002). Additionally, the entrepreneurship literature is predominantly 'Western-centric and geographically biased in favour of developed country contexts' (Tlaiss, 2019, p. 227).

Context in general refers to a person's circumstances and local, situational characteristics (van Gelderen et al., 2012). In a narrow sense, context indicates the environment of an individual, whether in an immediate or wider setting. In entrepreneurship studies, the consideration of context is critical, since who can be described as an 'entrepreneur' differs in different contexts; that is, the activities and identities of entrepreneurs gain different meanings in different contexts (Welter, 2011). In addition, several types of context may simultaneously affect the entrepreneur, each of which is interconnected with the other (Steyaert and Katz, 2004).

In this dissertation, I examine these contextual influences on entrepreneurs – on their identities and experiences – through the analysis of 'opportunity structures', which are defined below. For the purposes of this study, I define context at the national level as a complex set of power relations, discursive practices, and material resources that shape opportunity structures and the identities and experiences of Turkish women entrepreneurs.

The following section defines and discusses opportunity structures in relation to entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship.

Opportunity structures

'Opportunity' has been studied as one of the core constructs in the entrepreneurship. For some time, the main discussion on opportunities has been about whether they are discovered or created (Alvarez and Barney, 2007; Suddaby, Bruton, and Si, 2015; Wright and Phan, 2020).

There has been a strong focus on individuals in the entrepreneurship process, with a heroic description of entrepreneurs established in the main discourse. In order to correct this over-emphasis on heroic individuals, Shane and Venkataraman (2000) advocated the notion of 'objective opportunity', referring to pre-existing circumstances

for entrepreneurial action and success that are actor-independent. This theme has been taken up by several other studies (Shane 2003; Eckhardt and Shane, 2003, 2010; Venkataraman et al., 2012; Shane 2012). There are also scholars who have criticized the theory that opportunities are discovered, claiming that it fails to account for the influence of external factors such as society or culture on the process of opportunity seeking (Alvarez and Barney, 2007, 2013). In this terrain, concepts that are used to understand how entrepreneurial opportunities are generated, such as 'external enabler' and 'opportunity confidence', are also criticised as they do not consider the influence of agents (Davidsson, Recker, and von Briel, 2020). Entrepreneurs may not even be aware of these external enablers. In addition, the notion of 'opportunity confidence' is simply about evaluating opportunities or judging their attractiveness (Gregoire and Shepherd, 2012; Welpe et al., 2012), thereby failing to account for the role of actors in the process of generating opportunities.

In a nutshell, current theories on entrepreneurial opportunity mainly focus on a single event or a chain of events as the source of opportunities. They ignore the environment that triggers those event(s). They also offer a positive view of opportunity. However, an opportunity might be limiting or have negative consequences. There is always a trade-off between the opportunities on offer. When certain types of opportunity are brought to an entrepreneur's attention, others may be kept hidden or even become obsolete. In other words, the environment can have a limiting influence on the opportunities available, which may result in the worst possible opportunity to develop. In addition, the concept of entrepreneurial opportunity focuses too much on new venture creation or new idea generation (Davidsson, 2015), meaning that it is mostly studied in relation to the enterprise rather than the entrepreneur.

We know that our view of a social environment can constrain or bias our understanding of how entrepreneurs engage with the social world around them (Suddaby et al., 2015). On the one hand, entrepreneurship theorists who view the social environment as a given that needs to be adapted to typically advocate 'imprinting' as a key process in the emergence of opportunities; this explains how individuals with certain characteristics and abilities discover opportunities that are out there (Mathias, Williams, and Smith, 2015). On the other hand, theorists who depart from a social constructionist understanding view the social environment of entrepreneurs as a co-construction; they stress the 'reflexive' process by which individual actors see the world: not as it was, but as it might be, thus creating opportunities for themselves. Following in this vein, imprinting is defined as 'a profound influence of social and historical context in constraining perceptual apparatus of entrepreneurs and delimiting the range of opportunities for innovation available to them', while reflexivity can be described as 'a counterbalance in generating the ability of entrepreneurs to overcome the constraints of imprinting' (Suddaby et al., 2015, p. 1).

This dissertation adheres to the view that the social environment is composed of distinct structures. Rather than singling out positive events, the understanding of a social world, with its constraints and enablers, provides a more comprehensive picture regarding how, which, and by whom entrepreneurial opportunities are generated as well as the possible contextual elements that lead to those opportunities. Thus, in this dissertation, the central notion referred to is opportunity structures instead of opportunities.

On the whole, in the literature on migrant entrepreneurship, specific opportunity structures in specific industries have been analysed (Lindgreen and Hingley, 2010). Previous analyses of politico-institutional structures (Kloosterman, 2010) or cultural opportunity structures (van der Leun and Rusinovic, 2001) lack any consideration of the interrelations between these various concepts. By contrast, I provide a broader conceptualisation of opportunity structures in that sense by incorporating political, social, and institutional opportunity structures.

The notion of a 'political opportunity structure' arises from the literature of structural opportunities (McAdams, 1982). This concept holds that political action does not operate due to strategic wit or courage all the time, but rather an important portion of it is shaped by structural characteristics (Koopmans, 1999). In this dissertation, political opportunity structures refer to government policies and the political discourse on migrant and women entrepreneurship.

Scholars believe that structural opportunities do not have to be political in origin and culture has a structural face, too (Koopmans and Statham, 2000; Koopmans, 1999). Therefore, they use the concept of a 'cultural opportunity structure' as distinct from its political equivalent to avoid lumping together all kinds of cultural and political elements in one concept. I consider these cultural elements together with societal elements and frame them more broadly as a 'social opportunity structure'. This term includes the notion that economic behaviour is embedded in social relations (Granovetter, 1985). It emerges from the merger of 'social network theory' (Burt, 1992) and 'opportunity theory' (Clarke and Felson, 1993), first in the field of sociology, then diffused through the fields of economic sociology as applied to firms and entrepreneurs. Social opportunity structures, in this dissertation, encompass cultural norms, as well as societal requirements and discourses on women entrepreneurs.

The concept of an 'institutional opportunity structure' refers to the modes of opportunities and constraints presented by organisations at the 'meso' level (Nawyn, 2010), referring to the intermediate set of formal and informal institutions and organizations that mediate between individuals and macro-structural systems (Landolt and Goldring, 2009). The relevance of an institutional opportunity structure has often been overlooked (Caponio, 2005) as it has been intermingled with the concept of the political opportunity structure (Koopmans and Statham, 2000). The reason is that national policies make certain issues such as multiculturalism an organizing matter, so a concept such as

ethnicity becomes an organizational matter at the institutional level. In this dissertation, the term 'institutional opportunity structure' includes institutional norms, applications, and procedures for women entrepreneurs, as well as the perceptions of the representatives of the participant institutions, as the executers of the rules and regulations.

I use these notions of political, social, and institutional opportunity structures to examine how they relate to the process of constructing an entrepreneurial identity and the experiences of Turkish women entrepreneurs in the contexts of the Netherlands and Turkey.

Entrepreneurial identity and experience

Identity refers to 'the internalized and evolving story that results from a person's selective appropriation of past, present and future' (McAdams, 1997, p. 71). Identity is constructed, meaning that it is fluid, frequently in movement, an essence of 'becoming' rather than a fixed and stable, static sense of 'being' (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003; Lindgren and Wåhlin, 2001; Leitch and Harrison, 2016). This phenomenon of identity construction is socially constructed through language and embedded in power relations (Essers and Benschop, 2007, 2009; Berglund, 2006). How individuals navigate from one identity to another, which identity they suppress and which one they express in certain situations, or how they combine all of their identities at once, can only be interpreted by the analysis of identity as a process (Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton, 2013), including social interactions and power relations in everyday practices (Steyaert and Katz, 2004).

Individuals construct their identities through social interactions and act according to those identities consciously or unconsciously in different times, places, and cultures (Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft, and Thomas, 2008). Similarly, entrepreneurs construct their identities through social interactions within political, social, and institutional opportunity structures (Lewis, 2013). Besides this, the experiences of women of a certain ethnic background may lead these entrepreneurs to construct their identities in a certain way, depending on the context. For instance, entrepreneurs experiencing discrimination as a result of having an ethnic minority background might identify themselves more strongly with their ethnic community and construct an ethnic entrepreneurial identity, or they might refrain from ethnic norms and practices and try to identify themselves with the wider local community to limit the effects of ethnic discrimination. The ways in which they experience being entrepreneurs and develop their identities and coping strategies against adversity, all contribute to the process of identity construction (Essers, Doorewaard, and Benschop, 2013). Therefore, the experiences of entrepreneurs are significant for understanding identity construction processes and their relationship with opportunity structures.

Social categories: gender, ethnicity, and class

The social categories of gender and ethnicity are the primary categories that are relevant for Turkish women entrepreneurs (Essers and Benschop, 2007). Class is another category, intersectionally reinforced by gender and ethnicity (Zanoni, 2011; Acker, 2006), although it is comparatively less explored in the literature on entrepreneurship (Yeroz, 2019; Cederberg and Villares-Varela, 2018). These are categories of in- and exclusion involving distinctive relations of differentiation in a broader context, and shared group characteristics in a narrower sense, which interact with each other while providing the formation of life conditions and life chances (Anthias, 2001a). Building on the literature on gender and migrant studies, I define gender, ethnicity, and class at the social level as complexities of individual experience and social structure rather than labels or classifications of people (Anthias, 2001b). Gender, ethnicity, and class bear relevance at the individual level as well, and they refer to the identities displaying concrete practices and processes in which ongoing classifications are formed and reformed.

Below, each social category is discussed in turn: firstly, to provide a brief review of what each of these different terms entails; and secondly, to address each category intersectionally to present what it means for opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identity construction and experience. The concept of intersectionality is also explained below.

Gender

Gender is theorized as a basic principle of social structure and cultural interpretation (Acker, 2000), which entails gendered structures of institutions and of society (Ahl, 2002). The focus in the entrepreneurship field on women and their businesses is not enough to explain current gendered structures (Ahl and Marlow, 2012), which perpetuate a hierarchical gendered ordering. Women are held responsible for structural circumstances beyond their control and are associated with low performance or even failure (Bradley, 2007). The masculine discourse prevails as the unquestioned norm (Foss, 2010) as 'the normative entrepreneurial character is male and, in the main, his ventures outperform those owned by women' (Ahl and Marlow, 2012, p. 544). This study tries to challenge the normative institutional, political and social underpinnings regarding who can be recognized as an entrepreneur and what constitutes an entrepreneurial behaviour, which constrain the possibilities that women can bring to the field.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a social construct, embodying elements that may provide a sense of belonging to an ethnic group (Anthias, 2001b), such as kinship patterns, ancestry, physical contiguity, religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, physical features, cultural values, tradition, and cultural practices such as art, literature

and music (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2013). 'Ethnic identification' includes the idea that ethnicity becomes socially constructed as a core part of one's identity, using one or many of those elements for the purpose of legitimizing being a member both to its members and to non-members. Ethnicity and its components, much like the constructed categories of gender and class, are bound in time and space, and are therefore highly dynamic and subject to change under certain conditions.

Class

Class stands as a specific type of social stratification (Anthias, 2001b) stemming from 'the enduring and systematic differences in access to and control over resources, which extends to social relations constructed through active practices' (Acker, 2006, p. 44). Class, like gender and ethnicity, is bound in time and space and is thus contextual and structural. In the field of entrepreneurship, studies on the ways in which class, intersecting with gender and ethnicity, enters entrepreneurs' lives, are relatively scarce (Yeroz, 2019; Cederberg and Villares-Varela, 2018).

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is central to discussions of inequality, identity, and power relations (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall, 2013). It has been used extensively as a tool in gender studies (Acker, 2012; Rodriguez and Scurry, 2019), organization studies (Holvino, 2010; Healy et al., 2018) and entrepreneurship studies (Dy, Marlow, and Martin, 2016; Essers and Benschop, 2007). While it can be argued that gender, ethnicity, and class are essentially different social categories (Crenshaw, 1991), tracing these categories to their intersections, the tendency to see them as exclusive and separate is distorted. The concept of intersectionality denotes that, in various ways, gender, ethnicity, and class interact with each other (Crenshaw, 1989) and it provides a basis for multiple identities and experiences and multiple inequalities reproduced through various opportunity structures (Acker, 2006, 2012; Holvino, 2010).

Several studies appreciate the significance of the intersection of multiple identities (Martin, 2001; Leitch and Harrison, 2016) and insist on the consideration of other social constructs such as gender, ethnicity, and class in the analysis of entrepreneurial identity (Chasserio, Pailot, Poroli, 2014). Gender, ethnicity, and class are intersectionally in play throughout Turkish women entrepreneurs' life-episodes (Diaz Garcia and Welter, 2013; Essers and Benschop, 2007) and their entrepreneurial identity cannot be evaluated separately.

The experience of a middle-class Turkish woman entrepreneur, for example, cannot be understood solely in terms of being Turkish, an entrepreneur, middle-class, or a woman, if each of these aspects is considered separately without the inclusion of their interactions, which frequently reinforce one another. The concept of intersectionality

(Crenshaw, 1997) holds that these multiple identities intersect with each other in the daily practices of entrepreneurs (Cohen and Musson, 2000; Steyaert and Katz, 2004). However, this intersection does not mean that they always go along with each other. Turkish women entrepreneurs experience tensions in both the public and private spheres and encounter identity clashes, which they need to resolve through coping strategies (Essers and Benschop, 2007; Diaz Garcia and Welter, 2013).

Intersectionality highlights the inseparability of gender, ethnicity, class that arise as multiple dimensions across institutional, political, and social spheres of influence (Rodriguez et al., 2016). Gender, ethnicity, and class are complexly related aspects of practical activities derived from opportunity structures, rather than relatively autonomous intersecting systems (Acker, 2000, p. 205), since they are interrelated in practice and mutually constituted.

An intersectional glance at the relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences helps to question the current situation, where entrepreneurship is placed within a neoliberal ideology (Costa and Saraiva, 2012; Jones and Murtola, 2012; Loacker, 2013). This entails institutional, political and social biases (Ahl and Marlow, 2012) which produce and reproduce constraints on who can claim to be an entrepreneur and who cannot (Jones and Spicer, 2009). I examine the intersectional multidimensionality of identities and lived experiences of women entrepreneurs of Turkish origin as influenced and shaped by political, social, and institutional opportunity structures simultaneously (Holvino, 2010). Acknowledging both the middle-class orientation and Turkish ethnic background of a woman entrepreneur living in the Netherlands, for instance, is insufficient to describe her experiences in the Dutch context. Instead, it is important to know the political standing, regulatory environment, and society's attitude towards these social categories all at once to fully understand her entrepreneurial experiences and processes of identity construction in the Dutch context.

Research questions

This dissertation studies the relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences for Turkish women entrepreneurs in Turkey and the Netherlands. To be able to study this relationship in two different contexts, I take a social constructivist approach to entrepreneurial identities and experiences and also to opportunity structures. Thus, I emphasize a non-positivist and non-essentialist understanding of both identity and structure as 'socially (re)produced in ongoing, context-specific processes' (Zanoni et al., 2010, p. 10). This means that it is vital to take into account the entrepreneurs' perceptions and interpretations of opportunity structures in their entrepreneurial processes.

Drawing on the intersectional approach, I set out to build a more comprehensive understanding of opportunity structures and the relationship between them and entrepreneurial identities and experiences. To achieve this, I study how these opportunity structures interact with social categories and detail the relationship with entrepreneurial identities and experiences within two different national contexts. This adds to both the discussions on entrepreneurial opportunity (Wright and Phan, 2020) and the contextualization of entrepreneurship (Welter et al., 2016).

To this end, my main research question is:

> *How do Turkish women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands and Turkey experience being entrepreneurs and construct their entrepreneurial identities while responding to the opportunity structures in these two different contexts?*

I form three sub-questions that are addressed in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation to be able to answer the main research question:

1. *How do political, social, and institutional opportunity structures in Turkey and the Netherlands interact with gender, ethnicity, class, and entrepreneurship?*

This first sub-question is directed to the analysis of the nature and formation of opportunity structures. I question major assumptions about opportunity structures: that they are objective, are predominantly material rules and regulations, and are the same for everyone (Archer, 1995; Mole and Mole, 2010; Kloosterman, 2010). I theorise that opportunity structures are influenced by social and cultural interpretations of gender, ethnicity, and class, and thus these social categories have an important role in the formation, communication and implementation of opportunity structures. Drawing on the intersectionality approach, I analyse how opportunity structures interact with the social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class, and how opportunity structures might differ and influence social and economic justice and equality.

The second and third sub-questions are similar in their analysis of the relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences, but differ with respect to the context.

2. *How do women entrepreneurs of Turkish origin construct their entrepreneurial identities and experience their entrepreneurship relating to gender, ethnicity, and class in response to the opportunity structures in the Netherlands?*

With the second sub-question, my aim is to explore the ways in which Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs construct their identities and experience being entrepreneurs in their wider social, political, and institutional environments in the Netherlands. Extant contextual studies on women and migrant entrepreneurship have highlighted the interplay of the social environment with migrant women's entrepreneurship, as in the forms of gendered sociocultural norms (Duberley and Carrigan, 2013; Bruni, Gherardi, and Poggio, 2004) or the intersections of religious and ethnic norms (Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2010; Essers and Benschop, 2007). However, the simultaneous involvement and consideration of broader macro-structures such as politics, society, and institutions tend to be neglected (Jamali, 2009; Lewis, 2013). An intersectional perspective helps me to analyse various intersections of gender, ethnicity, and class together with politics, religion, culture, society, institutions, and entrepreneurship when trying to understand opportunity structures in relation to entrepreneurial experiences and identities. The analysis also explicates the transnational positioning and linkages that Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs construct.

3. *How do women entrepreneurs of Turkish origin construct their entrepreneurial identities and experience their entrepreneurship relating to gender, ethnicity, and class in response to the opportunity structures in Turkey?*

The third and last sub-question focuses on the context of Turkey as a nominally secular, non-Western country with a history of Islamic tradition and Western modernity. The academic literature on entrepreneurship with regard to a contextual understanding of entrepreneurial identities and experiences is relatively limited. Turkey, with its historical and contradictory social and political structures and recent institutional developments (Acar and Altinok, 2013), provides a fruitful context. Analysing the context of Turkey provides insights into how place-based, local-scale discourses (Kuhn, 2006; Gill and Larson, 2014) are in play in a certain context. It can also contribute to challenging Western theorizations in the field, which are based on Western male normativity and Western thinking on who is – and can be – an 'entrepreneur' (Jones and Spicer, 2009).

Contexts: Turkey and the Netherlands

Turkey and the Netherlands are the two national contexts analysed in this study. They share certain commonalities but also differences. I chose these two countries for several reasons. First, they are both entrepreneurial societies with different orientations, Turkey being efficiency-driven and the Netherlands innovation-driven (GEM, 2018). Second, they have differing degrees of economic development and Westernization processes in several

areas such as regulatory environment and social practices. Third, they have different forms of gender and ethnic representations. Fourth, they both offer dynamic and intermingled social and political milieus for Turkish women entrepreneurs, with policies introduced recently in both countries regarding multiculturalism, integration, emancipation, and labour market participation. Last, these two countries share a long history of migration from Turkey to the Netherlands, starting in the 1960s. Since then, the so-called guest-workers of Turkish descent, bolstered by family reunification, have entailed the largest group of ethnic migrants in the Netherlands. Thus, while providing insights into how entrepreneurial identities and experiences actually function in relation to the opportunity structures in each context, it is also important to uncover what difference it makes to be a migrant by studying Turkish women entrepreneurs as migrants in the Netherlands and locals in Turkey.

Each context provides a different environment for the social and economic participation of Turkish women entrepreneurs, with various historical compositions of gender, ethnicity and class. For instance, in Turkey, female labour market participation – especially since the 1950s – has increased with a wave of migration from rural areas to cities (Berber and Eser, 2008). Compliance with the characteristics and mentality of urban life, increased education levels, and changing norms regarding gender roles and family relations, especially in big cities, has affected the social position of women and provided them with new possibilities for identity construction (Koray, Demirbilek and Demirbilek, 1999). In the 1990s in particular, Turkey displayed major changes in political, institutional and social opportunity structures (Karakas, 2013), as it became a candidate country for EU membership and enjoyed an increase in economic prosperity (Öniş, 2004). The start of agreements with CEDAW (the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women) in 1986 and the foundation of KSGM (the General Directorate of the Status of Women) in 1990 were exemplary of moves towards anti-discriminatory laws, committees, directorates, and treaties supporting gender equality.

Today, the opportunity structures in Turkey regarding women are highly complex (Acar and Altunok, 2013; Buğra and Yakut-Cakar, 2010). The neo-conservative approach of the Turkish government along with its neo-liberal policies tries to preserve a consensus between capital and patriarchy (Toksöz, 2011), which results in the simultaneous support for and hindrance of women empowerment (Acar and Altunok, 2013). Improving gender equality requires the equal participation of men and women in education and employment (Toksöz, 2007). According to a report on Turkey published by KSGM in 2014, 43% of academics, 42% of architects, 40% of lawyers, 51% of bankers, 36.5% of civil servants, and 26% of judges and prosecutors are women. However, the employment participation rate of women is still low, at 28.9% as of 2018 (TUIK, 2018). Government support for child care and the elderly is insufficient; education for women is not evenly spread through the country, especially in rural areas; gender equality is not high on the priority list of legislators; and traditional gender roles still prevail (Maden, 2015; KSGM, 2014; Soysal, 2010).

Considering these shortcomings and the process of women empowerment in Turkey from an historical perspective, the structural environment in Turkey today brings new articulations of self-presentation which can also be seen in women entrepreneurship (Mumyakmaz, 2014). Depending on regional differences, women entrepreneurship in Turkey is either performed at an urban, middle-income group level or at the household level, based on small-scale production and trading activities (Toksöz, 2007), where the identities constructed and entrepreneurial experiences differ dramatically.

Regarding the Netherlands, while Turkish people migrated a masse in the 1960s, the major presence of Turkish migrant women dates back to the 1980s, after a family reunification law was initiated (Essers and Benschop, 2007). Most of them came from rural areas of Turkey, where they fell behind in social class, education, and work experience. This might also have influenced their degree and process of integration into Dutch society. It is primarily second-generation Turkish migrants who can better adjust to the structural and socio-cultural environments in their countries of origin and residence (Kok et al., 2011). They have attained better education, have a better command of the Dutch language, hold more favourable positions in the labour market, and are better blended into local residential areas (Dagevos, 2001; Rusinovic, 2006; Beekhoven and Dagevos, 2005). Therefore, second- and third-generation migrants merit further scrutiny regarding their entrepreneurial efforts and transnational connections in relation to the opportunity structures in both countries (Beckers and Blumberg, 2013).

In recent years, both labour participation and self-employment among Turkish women in the Netherlands have strongly accelerated (CBS, 2009). Turkish women have obtained new possibilities and engaged in new identity construction processes due to the growing importance of the Dutch language and education, increased communication with native Dutch citizens, greater societal acceptance of women working outside the home, and financial reasons engendered by urban life and capitalism (McCammon et al, 2001; Dagevos, Gijsberts and Van Praag, 2003). Nevertheless, the male-dominant business atmosphere, traditional gender roles, and patriarchal family dynamics continue to hinder Turkish women entrepreneurs in pursuing their own desires and initiatives (Essers and Benschop, 2007). Additionally, in recent years the Netherlands has become a less open culture regarding ethnic minorities (Andeweg and Irwin, 2014). Ethnocentrism and Islamophobia influence the current political discourse in the Netherlands through political parties such as PVV (Party for the Freedom) and the Dutch media (ECRI Report, 2013). Class differences between migrants and locals have become more apparent and resulted in social exclusion and discrimination (Celik and Notten, 2014; Guiraudon, Phalet, and Ter Wal, 2005). Migrant and local cultural dynamics (Bevelander and Groeneveld, 2012), and the 'othering' process (Essers and Benschop, 2007), especially after 9/11 and the

assassinations of two disparagers of migrants – Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh, have triggered discussions on multi-culturalism (Ghorashi, 2005), the compatibility of Islam/Muslims with Dutch values, and the competencies or achievements of Turkish migrant women both in politics and in media (Ghorashi, 2010).

Considering each context, it is relevant to ask how important it is for these Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs to have or retain connections with Turkey. Previous studies inform us that Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs construct their identities based on their experiences in the contexts of both origin and destination (Niels, 2015) through transnational migration flow (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). They share and exchange all sorts of information and follow societal, cultural, and economic developments in Turkey (Guveli, 2014). Their original culture and cultural developments in the origin country are often still among their strongest reference points (Fortin, 2002) when creating transnational connections. Hence, the analyses of both contexts in this thesis help to understand the interconnection between opportunity structures and identity constructions through transnational linkages.

Transnational life includes 'practices and relationships that link migrants and their children with the country of origin, where such practices have significant meaning and are regularly observed' (Smith, 2006, p. 6). Social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class are also constituted in the transnational context (Gardner and Grillo, 2002). Middle-class or professional migrants have sufficient social, cultural, and economic capital to incorporate signs of their origin or residence (Levitt, 2001, 2007). Migrants are often challenged with a different ethnic milieu than the one in place in their homelands, which limits their socioeconomic status and how local they can become (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). Migrant women and also men might receive conflicting messages from both countries of origin and residence, which they must reconcile (Salih, 2003; Pessar and Mahler, 2003). Gender distinctions might create hierarchies in migrant communities that are more rigid and traditional than in their homelands in order to protect women when the culture of the country of residence is perceived as 'hostile and immoral' (Caglar, 1995). Taking these factors into consideration, studying Turkey and the Netherlands as the two national contexts in this dissertation makes some valuable points in terms of transnationalism and transnational connectedness. Transnational entrepreneurship is a recent and emergent field of research (Driori, Honig, and Wright, 2009). In this dissertation, however, I consider transnationalism with respect to the transnational linkages and positioning that Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs might try to build, rather than exploiting transnational resources for entrepreneurial purposes.

Methodological approach

This dissertation is an exploratory study focusing on entrepreneurial identity construction processes, personal experiences, and social, political, and institutional practices, norms, and discourses. Thus, I rely on a qualitative research design as it 'seeks to contribute to a better understanding of social realities and to draw attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural features' (Flick, Von Kardorff and Steinke, 2004, p. 3). Qualitative data allows for studying the interrelationship of entrepreneurial identity and experience and opportunity structure that are jointly created in social interaction. Thus, qualitative research methods are chosen to arrive at a better understanding of this relationship and how it operates in various contexts.

The empirical material collected in this dissertation consists of interviews with both representatives of organizations and entrepreneurs. From a social constructivist perspective, I view opportunity structures as socially constructed, requiring a group of people making collective decisions and an insistence on these decisions for a structural setting (Hooghe, 2005). Thus, opportunity structures can be assessed through the organizations, which are surrounded by collective decisions, practices, ideas, norms, rules and regulations. Entrepreneurial identities are also socially constructed (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). In addition, the constructionist perspective holds that opportunity structures and identities are both subject to change over time but the level of flux differs between the two. Opportunity structures are not as fluid as identities. It takes more time for opportunity structures to change because of their structural nature, which provides an empirical ground for us to study opportunity structures through organizations and institutions (Archer, 1995).

Data collection methods

Over a period of three years (2015-2017), I conducted 42 interviews to be analysed for the three empirical studies in this dissertation. First, I collected data through semi-structured interviews with representatives of organizations in the Netherlands and Turkey, respectively, and analysed them in Chapter 2, which comprises the first empirical study. These organizations consisted of financial organizations, entrepreneurship federations, women platforms, tax and trade offices, a migration institute, ethnic business associations, a lobbying institution, and TV and radio programmers. These organizations were selected first and foremost as they reveal various opportunity structures relevant for Turkish women entrepreneurs in both countries.

Second, I collected data through life-story interviews with Turkish women entrepreneurs. I conducted 10 interviews in the Netherlands and analysed them for the second empirical study (Chapter 3). Analysis of an additional 11 interviews I conducted in Turkey make up the third and final empirical study (Chapter 4). I ended up with 10 and 11

interviews in each national context, respectively, ensuring that I had enough variety and sufficient data for my research (Malterud, Siersma, and Guassora, 2016).

As I expressed earlier in this chapter, the interrelationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences is contextual. Turkey and the Netherlands provide the contexts for this research, the Netherlands being the country of residence for Turkish migrant women and Turkey as their country of origin. The political atmosphere, institutional composition, dominant (and migrant) cultures, gender and ethnic dynamics, and class structures reveal different opportunity structures in each context.

The data was collected using two main types of interviews, described as follows:

Semi-structured interviews with the representatives of organisations

In order to study opportunity structures extensively in the Netherlands and in Turkey, I chose a semi-structured interviewing method. This was in preference to traditional question-and-answer surveys, which have a tendency to restrain respondent's answers (Flick, 2014) by controlling what information they provide. By adopting a semi-structured approach, organization representatives had more freedom to discuss all the related policies, procedures, regulations, practices or traditions. This method helped me to capture opportunity structures at a point in time and understand the ways in which opportunity structures were constructed and expressed. It also provided room for a discursive analysis through the articulations of organization representatives, which revealed embedded power relations within their organizations or in society in general regarding Turkish women entrepreneurs.

For the interviews, I used a purposive heterogeneous sampling method (Patton, 2002), since individual organizations, which were of interest for the first empirical study, were not difficult to identify and there was not any single organization that was critical for the study. Therefore, rather than focusing on a single organization or a homogeneous group of similar organizations, I aimed at a maximum variation between organizations to cover the widest possible range of opportunity structures and selected a heterogeneous set of organizations. After having discussions with a couple of entrepreneurs both in Turkey and in the Netherlands, I prepared a list of possible organizations in each country with which a Turkish (migrant) woman entrepreneur might come in contact. Afterwards, I sent an invitation letter, summary of the study, and my CV to these organizations (for the list of the organizations, see Appendix.1). Ten organizations from Turkey and 11 from the Netherlands accepted the invitation. Organizations themselves chose their representatives in relation to the topic of the study and helped arranging an interview with these representatives. At the start of each interview, the aim of the interview was shared with the interviewee (the organization representative) and permission was asked to make a digital recording.

Before the interviews, I prepared a set of 20 questions such as regarding organization's main activities, special programs for Turkish women entrepreneurs or possible reasons of lack of such targeted programs, as well as the implications of migration and integration laws and discussions on to the organization's rules and regulations. I used these questions as guidance during the interview (Johnstone, 2007) to ease the information-gathering process when questioning the rules, regulations, practices and norms within each organization (for the questions, see Appendix.2). I began with the same set of questions in every interview, but I changed some according to the flow of discussion. The questions worked as a personal guideline and helped to stay focused on certain points during the interview.

I digitally recorded all of the interviews except four of them. Exceptions stemmed from government regulations in Turkey, which did not allow the speech of public officials to be digitally recorded. I took notes for these interviews.

Life-story approach

The life-story approach is based on narratives about one's life. It is an appropriate data collection method for studying experiences and meaning in context (McKenzie, 2007). Therefore, to understand entrepreneurs in real-life situations, face-to-face, in-depth interviews should be conducted (Flick, 2014). Life stories have the potential to reveal entrepreneurs' experiences and through narrative interviews, meanings can be attained. In a narrative interview, the interviewee is a storyteller rather than a respondent and the interviewer is a listener. Sometimes, interviewees are asked to divide their life stories into chapters. Sometimes, the storytellers (the entrepreneurs) are given free rein to structure their narratives. I allowed entrepreneurs enough freedom that 'the particular story told, the manner and detail of its telling, the points emphasized, the morals drawn, all represent choices made by the storyteller' (Hollway and Jefferson, 2008, p. 308). Whether they divided their lives into chapters – such as childhood, puberty, education, work, etc. – whether they spent extra time telling certain parts of their stories, when and how they expressed those parts, or whether they mixed and linked each and every chapter of their lives, all provided valuable information. During the interview, most of the time I stayed quiet and let the narration run. I confined my intervention to basic utterances when the interviewee was talking to make her feel that she was being listened to. Depending on the flow of the narrative, I asked questions to get more details or establish time periods for the topic mentioned in order to elaborate those issues and follow the order of the narrative. I asked these follow-up questions as openly as possible to elicit further narrative and to eliminate intellectualization and inducement.

I selected the interviewees using the snowballing method for the life stories collected in the Netherlands and by purposeful sampling for the those gathered in Turkey to reach information-rich cases (Patton, 2002). Initially, I used my personal network, since I had memberships in certain (ethnic) business organizations and I was myself a Turkish woman

entrepreneur operating in both countries for four years. I also used my connections with the organizations with which I conducted semi-structured interviews to reach out to Turkish women entrepreneurs in both countries. A total of 21 narratives were collected in total and most took place in the working place of the entrepreneurs, for convenience. By this means, I also had a chance to observe the entrepreneurs in their real-life work environments during the interviews and note what was unsaid during the interviews, such as pauses, gazes, topic changes, or interruptions. All of the narrative interviews were digitally recorded and literally transcribed. These interview transcripts and notes on the interview processes comprise the units of the analysis.

Data analysis methods

I have applied various data analysis methods in this dissertation. In Chapter 2, I analyse the interview data collected via representatives of organisations using content analysis (Riessman, 2003), with a discursive approach (Philips and Hardy, 2002). In Chapters 3 and 4, I analyse the life stories using a narrative analysis (McAdams, 2012) and a reflexive analysis (Riessman, 2003; Essers, 2009a). Additionally, I analyse the data in Chapter 2 comparatively between the two countries, whereas in other chapters a single national context is used.

In content analysis, as the terms suggests, the interest lies in the content of the speech, where the use of language is a resource rather than a topic of investigation (Riessman, 2003). However, the purpose of understanding a concept or a relationship puts emphasis on what constitutes this concept or relationship as well as how this is conveyed. Conventional content analysis does not suffice for analysing things that are not said but meant during the interviews. A discursive approach (Philips and Hardy, 2002) provides an additional means for the analysis of language embedded in power relations, while the focus remains on understanding the concepts and how these concepts interact with each other. For this purpose, in my analysis, I looked into the assumptions and expectations about Turkish women and women entrepreneurship, and analysed selection of the words, tone of voice, allusions, and corrections after initial outburst of expressions.

A narrative analysis anticipates a better understanding of identity and its relationship with various structures. An understanding of identity informed by a narrative provides an additional interpretive lens for researchers because storytelling is a performance and it is a dialogic process. It requires the analysis of language, pauses, interruptions, gestures, gazes, topic changes, and other aspects of a conversation. The way the story is told, how the narrator wants to be known and how she involves the audience (researcher) get greater attention in analysing life story narratives. This also helps to perform a reflexive analysis, since data is co-created by the involvement of the interviewer and the interviewee though the interview process. Also, when analysing identity constructions and the experiences of entrepreneurs, doing is more important than telling, which requires field notes for the displays not represented in transcripts, such as gestures and gazes. Thus, narrative

analysis requires the collection of transcripts of entire life stories and the composition of field notes both to be interpreted. It helps to uncover patterns and themes about the identity constructions and experiences of Turkish women entrepreneurs, which involves careful reading of transcribed interview texts and field notes (McAdams, 2012).

Due to different perspectives and research questions in each chapter, the data sets and analysis methods differ with respect to the empirical study detailed in each chapter. Although a narrative analysis is different than a content analysis, there is a similar pattern. All data analyses follow an abductive research process, requiring analysis to go back and forth between theory and empirical data (Van Maanen, Sørensen and Mitchell, 2007). Each study started with reading all the interview transcripts. I processed the coding manually and transformed the bulk data into manageable pieces. I carried out initial analysis to come up with the common themes. Then I reread the transcript excerpts couple of times, as the analysis required critical reading of the texts where common themes emerged (Neergaard and Ulhøi, 2007). I analysed the texts with a discursive approach to deepen my understanding of the interaction between concepts, paying more attention to how this interaction was expressed. I analysed how language was used in these expressions. Additionally, during the data analysis process, I frequently discussed my analysis and interpretations with my supervisors. The discussions with them, together with the comments and feedback I received during my presentations in international conferences and seminars, helped to deepen the analysis and increase the meticulousness of the research (Gioia et al., 2013).In each chapter, I presented a selection of the empirical material. I chose fragments of texts and presented them to represent the overarching themes and exemplify the core discussion points. Also, for ethical purposes, I used pseudonyms and hid company names throughout the dissertation to respect the privacy of the interviewees, enterprises and organisations, as the interviews include personal data and experiences around sensitive topics such as identity, politics, and religion. For data security, the audio files and transcripts were stored in a USB drive kept in my home office.

Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation is a collection of three empirical papers, which aim to provide insights into the main research question. Each paper, presented separately as an independent study, fills a gap in the literature and together the papers contribute to a better understanding of the concept of opportunity structures and their relationship with entrepreneurial identities and experiences. These three papers constitute corresponding chapters of the dissertation together with the introduction and conclusion chapters.

In Chapter 2, the analysis of opportunity structures is the central point. I position the study at the discussion of opportunity structures interacting with social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class. I question the prevailing assumptions regarding opportunity structures in the literature and provide a more comprehensive understanding of these structures.

Chapter 3 develops a theoretical framework, which sets up the relationship between identity construction and opportunity structures as an 'interplay' between the two rather than a one-way, causal relationship. I analyse the life stories of women entrepreneurs of Turkish origin to study their entrepreneurial experiences and identities in relation to the opportunity structures in the Netherlands. I elaborate on the ways these women entrepreneurs perceive various opportunity structures, position themselves socially with transnational connections, and construct their entrepreneurial identities with respect to gender, ethnicity, class, politics, religion, culture, society, and entrepreneurship in the Netherlands.

In Chapter 4, I focus on unpacking gendered identity constructions of women entrepreneurs in Turkey with sensitivity to context. I analyse context-specific, local-scale discourses, policies, rules and norms in defining who is – and can be – an entrepreneur. I stress the importance of how context matters as a component of power relations in the production of entrepreneurial selves and I put forward the necessity of doing entrepreneurship research differently, by studying non-Western and understudied contexts.

In the concluding chapter of this dissertation, I provide the theoretical contributions and implications of my research. Incorporating the insights gained from each empirical study, I present a holistic view of opportunity structures and a deeper knowledge of the entrepreneurial process that takes place with the interplay of structures and entrepreneurial actors. I conclude the dissertation by pointing out limitations and recommendations for future research areas.

CHAPTER 2

Opportunity structures interacting with social categories in the Netherlands and Turkey

A previous version of this chapter has recently been published as a book chapter: Ozasir-Kacar, S., Verduijn, J.K., and Essers, C. (2021). Questioning opportunity structures from an intersectional perspective. In: Cooney, T.M. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook on Minority Entrepreneurship*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 87 - 115. Another version of this chapter is under review as: Ozasir-Kacar, S. and Essers, C. (2021) The regulatory environment as a confinement for migrant and women entrepreneurs. A comparative analysis between the Netherlands and Turkey. *International Migration*. Different versions of this chapter were presented at the 2016 Gender, Work, and Organisation in Keele, UK and 2020 Virtual Research in Entrepreneurship and Small Business Conference.

Introduction

Opportunity structures have been studied in the fields of migrant and women entrepreneurship for decades (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Ram, Jones, and Villares-Varela, 2017). Entrepreneurs operate within the opportunity structures in a given context. They benefit from the support provided through these opportunity structures, but they also need to overcome the constraining influences that stem from these (OECD, 2014). In the migrant and women entrepreneurship literature, the major theoretical perspectives on opportunity structures consider the opportunity structures as objective rules and resources, which are the same for everyone (Archer, 1995, 2000; Mole and Mole, 2010). These theoretical perspectives overlook however the interactions with social categories such as gender, ethnicity, and class (Carter et al., 2015; Ram et al., 2017; Jones et al., 2014; Ram and Jones, 2008; Rath, 2001) as they tend to make international comparisons across countries (Tseng, 2004). Entrepreneurship literature rarely discusses whether opportunity structures are available, or easily accessible for all members of society, especially for those with minority attributes, such as gender, youth, seniority, ethnic minority, unemployment, or disability. The government support and the institutional incentives are not questioned with respect to a minority perspective or, in some cases, regarding sectoral, regional or class differences. For instance, an age limit for a credit guarantee fund excludes seniors above that age limit from using these funds. With the absence of access to these opportunity structures, these entrepreneurs are put in disadvantageous positions or excluded. They are expected to enhance their entrepreneurial and language skillsets, self-funding, or obtaining managerial experience (OECD, 2014).

This study criticizes these major assumptions on opportunity structures as to understand how opportunity structures interact with social categories in a certain context, which accordingly defines when, how, why, and by whom entrepreneurship can be done. For this purpose, it explores opportunity structures and how they interact with gender, ethnicity, and class in context by asking the question: '*How do opportunity structures interact with social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class in the context of the Netherlands and Turkey?*' Altogether, the answers to this question provide the means for forming a better understanding of the structural environment in a region or country for an inclusive entrepreneurial environment. By this way, we can consider contextual dynamics in entrepreneurship (Steyaert and Katz, 2004; Welter, 2011) as well as the entrepreneurship potential and entrepreneurial variety in that region or country. Analysis of opportunity structures interacting with social identities shifts the emphasis from the agency to the structure, especially in women and migrant entrepreneurship studies. We argue that instead of analysing whether and how (migrant) women should use their agency (Ahl, 2006) in order to keep up with the Western white male norm (Essers and Benschop, 2007), we should (also) focus on the opportunity structures. This analysis could inform studies, for instance, regarding ethnic enclaves, transnational entrepreneurship, sectoral clustering, or minority entrepreneurship.

Intersectionality theory has proven to be a fruitful approach, particularly within women's studies (Walby, Armstrong, and Strid, 2012). Utilising intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989) in this paper allows us to better reveal the enabling and constraining impacts of opportunity structures on minority entrepreneurs in general and migrant and women entrepreneurs in particular. Opportunity structures are highly gendered and ethnocentric (Ahl, 2006; Ghorashi, 2003, 2010). Specifically, political decisions influence and are influenced by social and cultural interpretations of gender, ethnicity, and class (Acar and Altunok, 2013; Verduijn and Essers, 2013), and gendered, ethnic and class positions are (re)produced by opportunity structures. The intersectional perspective reveals unequal practices and also enriches the understanding of demarcation and discrimination between and within social groups. Conducting an intersectional analysis of opportunity structures in relation to gender, ethnicity, and class criticizes distinctions within and dominance through opportunity structures and leads to an explanation that goes beyond alternative interpretations based on depoliticised cultural differences.

We conducted interviews with representatives of organisations (financial organisations, local government entrepreneurship support organisations, (ethnic) business associations, lobbying agencies, tax and trade offices, women platforms, migration institutes, entrepreneurship federations, and the media), and analyzed how they perceive and execute these opportunity structures with respect to social categories of gender, ethnicity and class and their intersections. This chapter focuses on opportunity structures for Turkish (migrant) women entrepreneurs because "Turkish women are usually and typically marginalised within the dominant entrepreneurship discourse" (Verduijn and Essers, 2013, p. 613). We have chosen Turkey and the Netherlands as to study the migration element by comparing country of origin with country of residence. This enables us to analyze the regulatory environment from an ethnic and migration perspective, as well as with respect to gender and class, while various cultural elements are still quite similar; as Turkish women entrepreneurs are ethnic minority migrants in the Netherlands and mostly live in a cultural environment with Turkish cultural norms and practices (Essers and Benschop, 2007).

This chapter first reviews the relevant literature on opportunity structures in the fields of migrant and women entrepreneurship. It then provides background information regarding the policy and social environment in two countries; Turkey and the Netherlands. The methodology section then explains the empirical data collection and data analysis methods utilised. Next, the discussion of opportunity structures interacting with gender, ethnicity, and class in both countries is elaborated further. Finally, this chapter concludes by detailing the problematic parts of the prevailing understanding of opportunity structures and reflecting on some policy recommendations as well as directions for future research.

Opportunity structures in the field of migrant and women entrepreneurship

Studies so far have considered opportunity structures from an interactionist or an embeddedness approach (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Kloosterman, 2010; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001, 2003; Kloosterman et al., 1999). This section outlines how opportunity structures are theorised in the literature on migrant and women entrepreneurship.

In the migrant entrepreneurship literature, researchers tend to focus on migrants' business entry decisions, and opportunity structures are seen as one of the factors affecting their entrepreneurship decisions. Aldrich and Waldinger (1990) were the first to use the term 'opportunity structure' in this field. They presented a general framework based on opportunity structures, group characteristics and emergent strategies to understand various approaches explaining migrant entrepreneurship (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990, p. 112). They stated that migrant entrepreneurship cannot be explained merely by the ethno-cultural characteristics of the owners (Rusinovic, 2006), and they emphasised opportunity structures (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990, p. 113). With an interactionist approach, opportunity structures are hence conceptualised as the demand side and group characteristics as the supply side, interacting together to give rise to migrant entrepreneurship. Opportunity structures are seen as market conditions (ethnic consumer products and non-ethnic/open markets) and ease of access to ownership (business vacancies, competition for vacancies and government policies) (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). In the interactionist approach, government regulations receive limited attention, maybe because the interactionist theory was developed in the US and Britain, which both have deregulated economies that remove or reduce certain government regulations, especially to improve business relations and increase competition (Tseng, 2004).

Borrowing the concept of embeddedness from Granovetter (1985), further studies evaluate opportunity structures with an eye to how migrant entrepreneurs are embedded within their social networks and the social environment of their country of settlement. The embeddedness perspective on opportunity structures builds on the interactionist approach and now dominates the migrant entrepreneurship literature. Referring to the research initiated by Esping-Andersen (1999) on the effects of labour market's institutional framework, the politico-institutional aspect is included in the model of embeddedness, which is then formulated as the mixed-embeddedness approach (Kloosterman et al., 1999). The mixed-embeddedness approach defines opportunity structures as different sets of openings into markets characterised by human capital (accessibility) and growth potential (Kloosterman, 2010).

According to the mixed embeddedness approach, migrant entrepreneurs are not only embedded in social networks/environments, but also in the socio-economic and politico-institutional environment of the receiving country (Kloosterman et al., 1999). In this

approach, government regulations are thoroughly analysed, because it was developed by scholars situated in European countries such as the Netherlands with stronger state regulations on businesses (Tseng, 2004, p. 524). The mixed embeddedness approach provides insights into how institutional frameworks impact opportunity structures (Kloosterman, 2010). The approach also looks at the economic activities of migrant entrepreneurs that influence the urban economic structure, for instance, through informal economies (Kloosterman et al., 1999). The mixed embeddedness approach acknowledges changes in opportunity structures through urban economic activities and institutional drivers; however, there is little room for entrepreneurs to challenge and change opportunity structures themselves (Tseng, 2004). First, with the mixed embeddedness approach, the analysis is mostly done at the meso (network) and macro (political) levels, leaving the micro (entrepreneur) level understudied (Apitzsch, 2003, p. 168). Second, with this approach, only entrepreneurs engaging in innovative behaviour can change opportunity structures (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001, p. 192). In addition to the individuals' limited influence on opportunity structures, the mixed embeddedness approach also limits the scope of opportunity structures. It considers opportunity structures as 'the demand side' and group characteristics as 'the supply side' of migrant entrepreneurship and puts more effort into the analysis of the demand side while regarding the supply side as less significant (Tseng, 2004, p. 525). Group characteristics such as class and ethnic resources are not discussed in-depth, and their impacts on opportunity structures are disregarded (Tseng, 2004, p. 525). Gender has also received very little attention in the mixed embeddedness approach (Ram and Jones, 2008; Jones et al., 2014; Carter et al., 2015; Ram et al., 2017). This stems from the shift of emphasis from internal processes (cultural approach, ethnic networks, social capital, class and ethnic resources) to the external (political, institutional, and economic) environment (Tseng, 2004).

Significantly, the main theories of opportunity structures – the interactionist and the mixed embeddedness theories – underemphasise the interaction of opportunity structures with the social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class (Tseng, 2004; Jones et al., 2014; Carter et al., 2015). In the literature, there are only a handful of studies discussing opportunity structures combined with the intersectionality approach (Humbert and Essers, 2012; Valdez, 2016; Villares-Varela, Ram, and Jones, 2017). Most studies on opportunity structures tend to neglect gender and ethnicity because of the Western male normativity (Ahl, 2006) and comparatively smaller number of migrant women enterprises in urban societies (Lewis, 2006) or argue that having an ethnicity perspective in studying opportunity structures would not suffice to account for differences between countries (Kloosterman and Rath, 2003). Furthermore, only a small number of researchers consider class paradigms in migrant studies. This is because of the "close relations of minority researchers with policy makers, which creates a political climate where ethno-cultural processes are overstated while political and economic processes are underplayed"

(Rath, 2001, p. 153). In the women entrepreneurship literature, studies either ignore opportunity structures and push the individual drawbacks of women entrepreneurs into the discussion for areas of development (Ahl, 2006), or fail to reflect on ethnic- and class-based complexities intersectionally (Villares-Varela and Essers, 2019). So, there is a clear need for an analysis of the structural environment in relation to social categories.

Intersectionality has been central to the studies of inequality, identity, and power relations (Nash, 2008; Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall, 2013; Rodriguez et al., 2016) by underlying the multidimensionality of these experiences (Crenshaw, 1989). The intersectional approach helps to understand how to conceptualise and theorise the relationship between different social groups and the intersections of multiple inequalities (Walby et al., 2012). In the entrepreneurship field, "in conversation with the Giddens' theory of structuration (1984), it is acknowledged that structural forces often reproduce a given social group's intersectional positioning" (Romero and Valdez, 2016, p. 1554). For instance, in the context of weak community and negative societal reception, including racism and discrimination, African American entrepreneurs in the US faced structural problems, which reduced their socioeconomic and entrepreneurial progress (Silverman, 2002). On the other hand, favourable government policies that included loans and subsidies and a geographically-concentrated ethnic economy helped Cuban refugee entrepreneurs to participate in society and achieve business success (Waldinger, Aldrich, and Ward, 2006).

In the structural context, individuals are positioned differently within hierarchically organised social groups, which interact with social categories such as ethnicity, disability, age, gender, sexual orientation, and religion. Groups at the intersection of two or more of these categories are left out of focus in both academic literature and government policies (Walby et al., 2012). From this perspective, an intersectional approach recognises that opportunity structures are related to multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations (McCall, 2008) and can, therefore, produce multiple inequalities.

Contextualising opportunity structures in the Netherlands and Turkey

This section briefly contextualises opportunity structures within the Netherlands and Turkey, plus it details why these country contexts yield valuable insights to increase the understanding of opportunity structures in relation to Turkish (migrant) women entrepreneurs.

Based on the studies on opportunity structures so far (Koopmans and Statham, 2000; Kloosterman, 2010; Kloosterman et al., 1999; De Vries, 2007; Rusinovic, 2006; Nawyn, 2010), this study classifies opportunity structures into the following three groups:

1. Social opportunity structures: social, cultural (ethnic), and religious norms, practices and resources governing gender, family and business relations and societal discourse on (migrant) women;
2. Political opportunity structures: policies and political discourses on Turkish (migrant) women and (migrant) women entrepreneurship; and
3. Institutional opportunity structures: rules and regulations on women's business development and (ethnic) business relations.

Below, the opportunity structures for Turkish women entrepreneurs are discussed within the contexts of the Netherlands and Turkey.

The Netherlands is one of the main countries hosting Turkish migrants in Europe. Turkish community is the biggest migrant community in the Netherlands with more than 400.000 residents. After trying several models of migrant inclusion (Vasta, 2007), Dutch policy has moved away from state protection to an ideology of self-sufficiency and responsibility (Blok Report Netherlands, 2004, p. 3). Each individual undergoes the process of their upward mobility without receiving any political and institutional positive discrimination attributed to their ethnicity, class or gender. The state protection is regarded as first, making people feel offended because being protected might mean being weak and second, leading people to stay as passive welfare state clients because they lose their motivation to work (Koopmans, 2006). However, this implies that each person must face opportunity structures and find ways to exploit them on their own. With this policy change, diversity quotas were removed, and state funds for the development and networking of ethnic migrants were cut (Blok Report Netherlands, 2004, p. 3). Consequently, each person must take responsibility and action against the constraints and discriminatory opportunity structures, especially in the labour market (Guiraudon et al., 2005; ECRI Report, 2013; Verduijn and Essers, 2013). Turkish (Muslim) women, in particular, became (and still are) political and social targets (Verduijn and Essers, 2013) regarding the discussions on multiculturalism (Ghorashi, 2003), and they are victimised to prove that they have to be integrated or even assimilated into Dutch society (Ghorashi, 2010). They are considered key to cultural change within the family. Therefore, integration and emancipation programmes are designed to make these women learn the language, adapt to Dutch customs, study Dutch history, participate in employment, and embrace Dutch identity (Ghorashi, 2010).

Policy attempts have been made in previous integration systems to eliminate prejudices and discrimination against ethnic migrants through anti-discrimination and equal employment opportunity laws (Entzinger, 2003; Blok Report, 2004). Second- and third-generation Turkish migrant women generally attain a better status in society with a better command of Dutch language, education and labour market positions than

first-generation migrant women (Rusinovic, 2006). However, both political and societal discourses in the Netherlands in the last two decades reflect a neo-conservative ideology with more restrictive policies (fines imposed on migrants who fail to integrate after five years) and a provocative language against migrant people both in politics and popular media (Vasta, 2007).

Migrant women also face patriarchal norms and practices, especially from their ethnic community. Concerning the traditional gender roles, women entrepreneurs must take care of their kids and the household, while also running their businesses. The social control mechanism that enforces the traditional gender roles weighs more heavily on women than men according to the patriarchal social and cultural norms and practices within the Turkish migrant community (Essers and Benschop, 2007).

In Turkey, a similar neo-conservative ideology characterizes the policies, decisions, discourses, laws and norms regarding women and family relations, which consequently impact how gender is articulated and practiced (Acar and Altunok, 2013). Especially during the second term in office of the Justice and Development Party (2007-12), patriarchal and moral notions and values became apparent in the regulations of social and cultural domains and even political and international relations (Öniş, 2012; Acar and Altunok, 2013, p. 14). The secular part of Turkish society is discomforted by the Turkish government's conservative Islamist social ideologies because they believe that the Turkish government controls the visibility of women in public with the traditional form of femininity and associated gender roles and that it jeopardises gender equality (Özkazanç-Pan, 2015). For most of its female followers, the ruling political party aims to stand for a collective religious identity that is represented by the personal freedom of wearing religious clothing, which was previously marginalised in the public sphere (Göl, 2009). On the contrary, the post-Kemalist secular political discourse on gender focuses on masculine connotations of power, freedom, and work, but still charges women with taking care of the kids and the household (Bilgin, 2004). Turkish women, in short, face a complex political environment. It comprises of a blend of secular and Islamist gendered social ideologies that are proposed within the public sphere and patriarchal social and cultural norms and practices in the private sphere together with a history of secular modernity (Göl, 2009).

Concerning sustaining gender equality (or gender justice as Islamists frame it), both secular and Islamic discourses will only maintain or even strengthen patriarchal arrangements, unless they acknowledge these patriarchal norms and practices as opportunity structures perpetuating gender inequality or injustice (Özkazanç-Pan, 2015). In practice, Turkish women find ways to tackle these patriarchal norms and values to sustain their democratic rights and pursue individual development (Kandiyoti, 2005). Entrepreneurship is promoted for women empowerment by increasing women's employment and participation in society (Calás, Smircich, and Bourne, 2009). However,

it is debatable whether entrepreneurship can change constraining opportunity structures (Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2013). For instance, through gendered institutional opportunity structures that have a male-breadwinner model (Pfau-Effinger, 2004) and a reformed pension system (Elveren, 2013), the entrepreneurship support institutions that have been fostered by the liberal economic development policies of the Turkish government will only reinforce existing patriarchal attitudes towards women (Arat, 2010).

Guided by neo-liberal economic tenets, entrepreneurship is also promoted in the Netherlands "as having emancipatory and elevating powers for Turkish migrant women" (Verduijn and Essers, 2013, p. 613). Entrepreneurship is presented as a tool for upward social mobility for Turkish migrant women and hence for obtaining equality and inclusion (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000); however, studies highlight that it might not be able to achieve this all the time (Verduijn and Essers, 2013). The promotion of entrepreneurial activities for Turkish women in both countries is a laudable objective, but whether entrepreneurship becomes a bureaucratic apparatus for supporting and promoting gender and/or migrant equality and inclusion is debatable.

Before discussing the empirical results of this study, the following section details the methodology adopted.

Methodology

We conducted semi-structured interviews with representatives of a wide range of organisations to assess various opportunity structures. It has already been established that opportunity structures are socially constructed and subject to change over time. However, opportunity structures can be studied through organisations for two reasons. First, opportunity structures are constructed by the tenacious collective actions of a group of people, where these shared decisions turn into rules, laws, regulations, customs, traditions or norms (Hooghe, 2005). Second, it takes a substantial amount of time for opportunity structures to change (Archer, 1995). Thus, organisations, which are surrounded by collective decisions, practices, ideas, norms, rules and regulations, can be used to assess opportunity structures at a point in time through interviews with their representatives.

The empirical data for this study were collected in Turkey and the Netherlands because of several reasons. They have various degrees of economic development, Westernization in the processes and structures, and different forms of gender and ethnic representations, which help to analyze contextual differences between two country contexts. Also, they share a long migration history from Turkey to the Netherlands starting in 1950s, they are both entrepreneurial societies with different orientations as Turkey being mostly necessity driven and the Netherlands as opportunity driven, and they both offer

dynamic and intermingled social milieus for Turkish women entrepreneurs. They both share a complex social and political environment regarding (migrant) women, and thus provide a useful context to study opportunity structures as they interact with gender, ethnicity, and class.

This study used purposive heterogeneous sampling (Patton, 2002). First, two Turkish women entrepreneurs from both countries were asked to produce a list of categories of organisations relevant to their initiatives. Then, we performed an extensive Internet search to form a list of organisations for each of the categories. We created a list of 40 possible organisations and approached each of them for an interview. Ten organisations from Turkey and 11 from the Netherlands accepted the invitation. We selected at least one organisation for each category. Thus, we had a large and representative group of organisations that Turkish women entrepreneurs could be in contact with. These organisations included tax and trade offices, (ethnic) business associations, banks, women platforms, local government agencies, entrepreneurship support institutions, a migration institute, and radio and TV studios (Appendix.1). For the interviews, they directed their representatives who are either in charge of entrepreneurship in general or migrant or women entrepreneurs in particular. In the case of absence of any entrepreneurship department, the representatives in charge of public relations or business communications accepted to have the interview.

We prepared a set of 20 questions (Appendix.2) to guide the interview (Johnstone, 2007). In general, the representatives of the organisations tended to explain their personal experiences instead of their organisation's practices, processes, and regulations. However, the set of questions helped the interviewer, also the first author of this chapter, to ensure that the interview stayed on topic. The interviews were held at the main buildings of the organisations and lasted between half an hour and two and a half hours. Except for four of the interviews, they were all digitally recorded and transcribed. The exceptions were due to the restrictions on recorded speech that are placed on state officers in Turkey. The interviewer took detailed notes for these interviews.

The analysis of the interviews was conducted in three steps. First, we read all the interview transcripts and, through deductive coding (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006), we noted the parts of the texts where interviewees talked about the three categories of opportunity structures – social, political and institutional. These three categories of opportunity structures were the overarching themes in this study. The paragraphs of the whole interview transcripts were grouped into these three categories of opportunity structures (Corley and Gioia, 2004). This step comprised the content analysis, where the emphasis was more on what was said, rather than how and why it was said (Neuendorf, 2016). In the second step, we re-read these paragraphs and critically analysed to explore how the opportunity structures interact with gender, ethnicity and class. By adopting a discursive approach (Phillips and Hardy, 2002), this step also analysed how the

representatives of the organisations explained their organisational operations, practices, norms, and regulations and whether there were exclusionary perceptions or positive discrimination in practicing these opportunity structures concerning Turkish women entrepreneurs. For the third step, we utilised axial coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) to conduct a comparative analysis and noted the similarities and differences in how each opportunity structure intersected with gender, ethnicity, and class in Turkey and the Netherlands.

Additionally, through a reflexive approach (Essers, 2009a), the dynamic relationship between the interviewer and the interviewees was explored (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000). The fact that the interviewer was a veiled Turkish female professional at the time of the interview, who migrated to the Netherlands as an expatriate and the interviewees were a mixture of professional Turkish women, Turkish men, Turkish migrant women, Turkish migrant men, Dutch women and Dutch men (Appendix.1) helped in performing a reflexive analysis by considering their relationships with the interviewer concerning gender, ethnicity and class separately and intersectionally. The interviewees either sympathised with the interviewer, wanted to receive her help for their projects, and used her as an audience in their ethnicity related concerns, or they confronted her with defensive arguments and an unfriendly interview atmosphere and tried to avoid her by deflecting her questions, giving short answers, and interrupting the interview with personal or work-related issues. Varying combinations of personal characteristics of the interviewer and the interviewees have influenced the interaction between these two parties as well as the constructed data and the reactions of interviewees towards the interviewer. For instance, the female representative of trade organization in Turkey did not offer a place to sit, responded in short answers and expressed her unwillingness to pursue the interview any longer. She expressed her surprise of a veiled researcher coming from Europe. On the other hand, the male representative of the ethnic business association in the Netherlands offered lunch, pastries and beverages, and kept talking for hours. He was referring to the interviewer as 'one of ours', because of the ethnic affiliation of the interviewer. The interviewer's veil might have influenced the reactions of the interviewees because of the societal and political discourses on headscarf in both countries. The interviewer's university affiliation might have landed her professional credibility with the interviewees.

Reflecting on the challenges in the data collection phase also has implications on the complexity and the difficulty of intersectional data analysis, as different interviews stressed different social categories subject to different contexts.

Opportunity structures with an intersectional lens

This section presents the social, political and institutional opportunity structures and discusses how each opportunity structure interacts with gender, ethnicity, and class in the two contexts separately.

Social opportunity structure

In the Netherlands, the representatives of the organisations with a Turkish background, who are familiar with the norms and practices of Turkish community, emphasised the cultural distance between the Turkish and Dutch cultures and most Dutch peoples' lack of appreciation for cultural diversity. These interviewees considered both cultures influential, as Turkish migrants, especially second- and third-generation migrants, are exposed to both local and ethnic community cultures (Essers and Benschop, 2007). They specified that Turkish migrants are part of a hybrid culture, which resembles neither Turkish culture in Turkey nor the Dutch culture in the Netherlands but instead combines practices from both cultures. Consequently, Turkish migrants are considered as *gurbetci* (emigrant in a negative connotation) in Turkey and as *allochtone* (immigrant as a foreigner or non-native) in the Netherlands.

Furthermore, the interviewees also specified how the ethnic community culture in the Netherlands is more conservative than the Turkish culture in Turkey. This is because Turkish migrants perceive that there are substantial cultural and religious differences between their culture and the Dutch culture. They therefore live in a narrower social circle and stick to their values, enforcing them on their kids to preserve them from outside values and lifestyles that they deem inappropriate. This social and cultural control mechanism affects Turkish migrant women more than men due to the traditional gender roles and patriarchy. Regarding the influences of the traditional gender roles and patriarchy on Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs, the representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, women's platform, and ethnic business association criticised Turkish migrant women for working both inside and outside the home. Specifically, they criticised them for disallowing their husbands to take responsibility for the home and the kids, which consequently leads to strengthened traditional gender roles and patriarchal practices. The representatives of these organisations perceive Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs as consciously or unconsciously accepting the patriarchal norms and practices imposed by their culture. However, they also perceive that new generations of Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs' face fewer social and cultural controls, because Turkish migrant culture tends to change and evolves more to the Dutch culture. This is illustrated by the following statement by the representative of the Chamber of Commerce:

> This comes from our culture, but here it is much [more] conservative [than Turkey]. If a woman accepts to work inside and outside, this starts from her then. Our women do not want to challenge this; they just accept and take all the responsibility. But we all have kids to take care of, and cleaning, cooking, etc. These take a lot of time and energy like a full-time job. These should be taken care of by both parents, or a woman entrepreneur should be able to go on a business trip without any discussion with her husband. But we live in another era now. Third-generation migrants are not 100 percent Dutch but maybe 80 percent. They are educated by the Dutch system. They do not have such concerns. Social control mechanisms do not apply for them.

On the other hand, the representatives of the organisations with a Dutch background, such as the head of the Dutch SME Association and the entrepreneurship radio programmer, perceived Dutch culture as comparatively superior and demanded that migrants adapt to Dutch culture (Arends-Toth and van de Vijver, 2003). This is similar to the ideas of Stolcke (1995), with cultural fundamentalism depending on the notion of a homogeneous, static, coherent, and rooted culture. The representatives of the women platform and the ethnic business association summarised the situation for Turkish migrant women as that they are asked by their community to maintain their ethnic culture especially in the private domain, and they are also obliged to adapt to the mainstream culture in the public domain to survive socially and financially. Thus, Turkish migrant women face tensions from the demands placed on them by their ethnic Turkish community and the requirements from Dutch society due to the perceived religious and cultural differences between the two cultures.

The representative of the Chamber of Commerce also perceived being raised in two cultures as problematic, particularly in social life in the Netherlands where contradictions appear, and people are restricted (Arends-Toth and van de Vijver, 2003). The representative also noted the discriminatory practices in Dutch society:

> They [Dutch authorities] do not want to provide opportunities for the foreigner. The foreigners, who achieved a certain position, left their cultures behind, even forgot their language. A Turkish woman who gets married to a Dutch man is accepted much more easily.

The representatives interviewed for this study also considered social class as a very influential factor such that higher social status outpaces the impact of ethnicity on the inclusion of migrants. For them, when a Turkish migrant woman entrepreneur has a higher economic and social status, her ethnicity is not considered negatively; rather, her entrepreneurial connection with Turkey through her ethnic ties is perceived positively. In contrast, lower-class Turkish women are viewed as more likely to be excluded and to experience heavier cultural contradictions.

In Turkey, the major discussion points about social opportunity structures regarding women entrepreneurs are the traditional gender roles and patriarchy. The interviewees pointed at a perceptional change about women's employment, especially in big cities because of urban life and mentality (Koray et al., 1999). However, the interviewees also explained the prevailing traditional gender roles (Karatas-Özkan, Inal, and Özbilgin, 2010), difficulties in achieving a work-life balance (Ufuk and Özgen, 2001), and the lack of institutional support for childcare and elderly care (Yazıcı, 2008) as the main difficulties that women entrepreneurs face in Turkey. The representatives proclaimed that women "can" work outside of the home and that they still work at home. The fact that women work at home displays prevalent traditional gender roles, and the expression of whether women "can" work outside home attests to the existence of patriarchy (Kabeer, 2005), albeit latently. The representative of a business federation stated:

> Everyone has one job; women entrepreneurs have three. They have to run their businesses, take care of the kids and their husband. The last one is the toughest!

As per the quote above, women entrepreneurs become inured and simply play within the limits of patriarchal practices. Patriarchal practices are very much embedded in traditional gender roles. In the case of Turkey, the husband rather than any other male figure is considered to enforce patriarchy on women (Bruni et al., 2004):

> The biggest obstacle for a woman entrepreneur is her husband. Men see it as their right to hinder a woman's freedom when the woman needs to attend to trade fairs, has business trips, or dinners with other men. That's why a lot of women entrepreneurs are getting divorced lately. Maybe these divorces become exemplars that women try to speak up and take action.

Additionally, according to the representatives, the social image of Turkish women entrepreneurs also changes with the influence of social class. Women entrepreneurs with higher education and economic standards face lesser influence of patriarchy, and they share parenting responsibilities or have nannies and maids for looking after the kids and the household chores.

Political opportunity structure

In the Netherlands, except for the representative of the lobbying agency, the interviewees belonging to the Dutch majority were hesitant to talk about politics. The Dutch lobbying agent and the interviewees with a Turkish background expressed how their organisations perceive the political environment relating to Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs. According to them, the political focus in the Netherlands is on gender equality (Mills et

al., 2008). Regarding the various ethnicities and religions, they perceive that there is a less tolerant political approach (Siebers, 2010), and discrimination in the labour market and education (Koopmans, 2006; Schriemer, 2004), especially towards Muslim Turks and Moroccans (Essers and Benschop, 2007). They evaluated that politicians use the cultural distance between two cultures as a tool in political discussions about the social and economic integration of migrants and in policy building and implementation (Montreuil and Bourhis, 2001). They referred to a shift in the politics from multiculturalism towards integration and assimilation (Prins and Slijper, 2002; Vasta, 2007) through revoking migrant quotas and cutting government funds for the institutions that organise activities and conduct research about migrants. The representative of the lobbying agency stressed the ideology of forming a 'typical' citizen in the whole country and expressed this as:

> In Holland, there is also an implicit kind of assimilation. That is the idea. They do not say it out loud in this way, but everybody should become a 'typical' middle-class citizen.

The representative of the Migration Institute also summarised the political discourse on Turkish migrant women in the Netherlands as exclusionary, based on religion, ethnicity, and gender:

> Here in politics and society, they [Turkish migrant women] are seen as Muslim first, then Turkish, and then women, and they have to get through all of these.

In Turkey, in most of the interviews, it was stated that women entrepreneurs are seen as mothers, sisters, and daughters. The replacement of the Ministry of Women and Family with the Ministry of Family and Social Policies illustrates this ideology on a political level by equating women to the family (Özkazanç-Pan, 2015). The representatives viewed the political focus in Turkey on increasing women's employment, which is rather low amongst OECD countries (KSGM, 2014). As a tool for increasing women's employment and economic development, women entrepreneurship is politically promoted. The representatives of the organisations responded favourably to the political impetus towards women entrepreneurship without questioning the emancipatory outcomes as women entrepreneurship sustains traditional gender roles by providing flexible working hours to enable women to continue to have the responsibility of conducting household chores and looking after the children with the possibility of earning (some) money (Toksöz, 2011). Apart from this, the interviewees refused to talk about politics and political disputes in and around Turkey. The respondents' hesitation in bringing politics into the discussions indicates that these topics are highly sensitive among Turkish people. This supports Keyman's (2014) observation concerning Turkish society as highly politicised and polarised along religious, secular and ethnic lines.

Mostly the representatives in both countries were not comfortable discussing politics and political opportunity structures with a veiled Turkish interviewer, and they were reluctant to express their opinions. Additionally, they did not want to involve their organisations in politics, and they did not comment on the political influence on migrant women entrepreneurship in general and on the operations of their organisations in particular. However, they all agreed on the fact that Turkish women entrepreneurs have to and thus do follow politics and political incidents closely to foresee policy changes in the industries in which they operate.

Institutional opportunity structure

In the Netherlands and Turkey, local and national governments strengthen existing entrepreneurs and stimulate new initiatives (Verduijn and Essers, 2013). They support entrepreneurs (both financially and non-financially) through programmes such as training sessions, seminars, workshops, panels, debates, conferences, expert meetings, network events, mentoring, coaching, contests, campaigns, awards, fairs, and business trips.

In the Netherlands, public institutions mostly provide non-financial support programmes. There are very few financial support instruments for entrepreneurs, such as the income tax exemption legislation for entrepreneurs earning less than 6,000 euros in a year. Almost all the non-financial support programmes in the Netherlands, even the ones provided by ethnic business associations, are held in Dutch and charge an attendance fee. The representatives of tax and trade offices emphasised that comparatively smaller numbers of Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs attend their events, which is largely because Dutch is the official language of their programmes. The Amsterdam office of the Chamber of Commerce also noted that the focus of the Dutch government had been mostly on the sectors with better growth potential:

> Here we have chosen some of the sectors that the Dutch are successful at, such as fashion and design. We have partnerships and sponsorships with the organisations in these sectors. These have priority on our agenda because we can benefit from these sectors more.

Additionally, in the Netherlands, local municipalities support entrepreneurs through institutions called House of Entrepreneurs (*Ondernemershuis*) in different cities. These institutions provide office space, networks and consulting on issues such as administration, tax, and personnel. The representative of this institution expressed their tasks as:

> We provide information, seminars, and workshops to our taxpayers. They can find all the information online as well, but our clients are mostly Turks and Moroccans. They are not comfortable with the Dutch language or computers, or the Internet.

> Young, educated people find their own way. [In the Netherlands] there is, as we call '*drempelvrees*' [threshold fear], they [migrants, such as Turks or Moroccans] are afraid to go to a Dutch institution. Here we don't have that. They come and ask their questions.

The representative of House of Entrepreneurs interviewed for this study described their clients as all the taxpayers of that municipality. However, in practice, entrepreneurs with financial and human capital do not need the services provided by House of Entrepreneurs. Instead, entrepreneurs with low income, language competency, education and access to finance benefit from this institution, and thus this institution depends very much on migrant entrepreneurs, who are seen as 'in need of help'.

Similarly, the ethnic business associations also provide a closed network for Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs. While the Turkish business association and the ethnic women platform interviewed for this study positioned their organisations in connection with Dutch public institutions and political authorities, their member entrepreneurs are mostly of Turkish origin, and they pre-dominantly network with Turkish organisations. Therefore, the networking choices of both these ethnic business associations and the Chamber of Commerce reinforce an 'us versus them' dichotomy and the 'Othering' process between locals and migrants (Essers and Benschop, 2007).

In addition to language barriers and closed-off networking possibilities, the perception of the head of the Dutch SME Association regarding Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs reflects another opportunity structure that influences ethnic business relations and business development. The following quote from the head of this association illustrates this:

> I think it is good that someone is not from here [the Netherlands], but she should give the image that she is also modern, etc. They [migrant people] sometimes complain, but what you experience is not the fact that you are Turkish, but your personality does not fit into the corporation or business. (…) The extra admirations [of gender, ethnicity] are not extras anymore but inadequacy for the people who came here 20 years ago and are still not that successful. Ask yourself if it is good that we have an award for the best women entrepreneur, best non-Dutch entrepreneur, or even best non-Dutch women entrepreneur. No, it shouldn't be like this!

Underscoring the discriminatory approach towards Turkish migrant women, the head of this association has a culturalist and ethnocentric perception that migrants in general – and Turkish migrants in particular – are not modern and do not fit into the business environment in the Netherlands. This is highlighted by the belief that they need to show that they are modern and capable of doing the work they have applied for (Ghorashi, 2003).

In Turkey, entrepreneurs are mostly supported financially through local government and private organisations such as banks and private universities. The programmes, in general, do not require an attendance fee, which stimulates participation among small business owners with low incomes. The most popular government institution that supports entrepreneurs is the Head of Support and Development of SMEs (KOSGEB). KOSGEB delivers grants of 30,000 to 100,000 Turkish liras (equivalent to, as of January 2020, roughly 4,500 to 15,000 euros) without any interest or payback requirements for the entrepreneurs who start their companies after attending an entrepreneurship training programme that is free of charge (KOSGEB, 2014). Entrepreneurs also receive subsidies for trade fairs or new machinery investments. Women entrepreneurs receive grants 10 percent higher than the amount that male entrepreneurs receive. In Turkey's less developed regions, entrepreneurs receive grants that are 10 percent higher than the amount received by entrepreneurs in a developed region, and, in these instances, women still receive the 10 percent extra grant. There are also opportunities of a bank loan specifically for women entrepreneurs such as the bank loan supported by Global Banking Alliance for Women (GBA) or Women in Business credits financed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).

Additionally, certain programmes are implicitly directed to women entrepreneurs. For instance, one of the government banks offers first step credit guarantee funding for entrepreneurs who cannot provide any collateral. This credit guarantee funding is not exclusively for women entrepreneurs but is implicitly directed to them because historically, women do not inherit as many real estate properties or land as men do. Similarly, micro credits offered by the Turkey Grameen Microfinance Program to the entrepreneurs in groups of three for their business ideas are not provided only for women, but the programme coordinators only refer to women:

> These are for the women who do not participate in society at all and need to take care of their kids financially. These are at a really micro level like around a thousand or two thousand Turkish liras [equivalent to (as of January 2020) roughly 150 to 300 euros], but the idea is basically to make a difference in these women's living standards and social lives.

Even on the programme's website, the images of lower-class women are portrayed when the details of the programme are stated (http://grameen-jameel.com/turkish-grameen-microfinance-program-tgmp/).

Likewise, the Turkish government has an income tax exemption for entrepreneurs. This applies to certain goods produced at home such as embroidery, needlework, bead processing, artificial flowers, wicker baskets, Turkish ravioli, and noodles. The exemption aims to help small firm owners financially; however, the main producers of these tax-

free products are women. While aiming to help these entrepreneurs, the legislation unintentionally limits them. The women do not want to lose this benefit and thus work from home and stay small, which may sustain traditional gender roles and the patriarchy by leading them to take care of the kids and the household, while earning some money (Toksöz, 2011).

Additionally, in Turkey, women's business associations and sub-branches of these associations are widespread. For instance, in all major cities, the offices of the Chambers of Commerce have women entrepreneurship committees composed of women entrepreneurs who respond to the management board. Based on the interviews with one of the offices of these committees, the biggest women's entrepreneurship association (KAGIDER) and a women's sub-branch of a business federation promote women entrepreneurship and offer a female approach to social and political issues. However, they provide a closed and, to some extent, protected environment for women, which can be considered as sustaining patriarchy in the institutional domain (Sultana, 2012). A representative of the organisation stated:

> When a woman entrepreneur wants to attend a conference or a business trip, her husband does not want her to go there alone, so woman organisations arrange such events and help to solve the problem.

The organisation accepted the patriarchal approach towards women and reproduces gendered inequalities (Kandiyoti, 2005) through their practices as well as strengthening the traditional division of sexes in the public sphere. Patriarchal practices do not end; they rather proceed into the institutional domain. These women organisations have benevolent sexist approach (Glick and Fiske, 2001) towards women that women would need protection and support. This way, these organisations help to sustain patriarchy in the public sphere.

The next section discusses the findings in each context and relates them back to the literature.

Discussion

In trying to answer how opportunity structures interact with social categories, this chapter has pointed out multiple configurations of opportunity structures. Firstly, opportunity structures are initially formed in interaction with social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class. There are opportunity structures specifically formed for a group of people who identify themselves with certain categories, for instance, particular government bodies provide financial support only for women entrepreneurs as in Turkey. Secondly, some

opportunity structures are mostly being promoted for and used by people identified with certain categories or those who are excluded from exploiting other opportunity structures. These opportunity structures are not designed particularly for any group, but mostly exist for specific groups of entrepreneurs. For instance, the services of the local government organisation, the House of Entrepreneurs in the Netherlands, is basically utilised by migrant entrepreneurs. Lastly, there is the element of actors such as the representatives of organisations. They are involved in the process of opportunity structure configurations and enactments. They interpret the opportunity structures, meaning that they intervene in the execution and communication of various opportunity structures to the entrepreneurs and thus can alter the interplay between entrepreneurs and opportunity structures.

These multiple and layered configurations have shown the importance of contextual influences on the constructions of opportunity structures, as opportunity structures interact with social categories and both are socially constructed within a particular context (Welter, 2011). Our analysis points to various configurations of opportunity structures for Turkish women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands and Turkey. It discloses that for instance in the Netherlands, there are not opportunity structures initially designed for migrant women entrepreneurs. Yet, some institutions are ethnicised, such as the House of Entrepreneurs or the trade offices, as these organisations either are promoted for and used by migrant people or are not attractive for migrants due to language requirements and restricted network possibilities. Also, the actors involved in the process of execution and communication of rules and regulations, interpret opportunity structures in line with the discriminatory discourses on migrant women, for instance that they are not modern, lack language and technological skills and adhere to traditional cultural, religious, and patriarchal practices, as exemplified by the perceptions of the Dutch SME representative. When we evaluate these configurations, we see that opportunity structures in the Netherlands do not provide a supportive and inclusive entrepreneurial environment for Turkish women. There are structural barriers such as restricted business networks, biased assumptions and discrimination; and there is no institutional, political or social support to improve the situation for them to foster their entrepreneurship.

In Turkey, the liberal approaches to economy aim to foster women entrepreneurship as a way to boost the economy. Women entrepreneurship is seen as an untapped resource with certain deficits (Ahl and Nelson, 2015) such as funding. Thus, there are different possibilities of financial support specifically designed for women, such as the bank loans supported by Global Banking Alliance for Women (GBA) or Women in Business loans financed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). There are also other financial possibilities providing comparatively better terms to women, such as the KOSGEB subsidies offering extra 10% for women compared to men. Similar to the configurations in the Netherlands, some of the opportunity structures in

Turkey are gendered such as the micro credits and the tax exemption legislation. These are not initially and specifically designed for women entrepreneurs, but promoted for and mostly used by them. Additionally, the actors such as the policy makers consider women first and foremost in relation to 'family' (Özkazanç-Pan, 2015) and stress the traditional patriarchal gender roles, such as the women sub-branches of business associations. When we evaluate these configurations, we recognize a combination of neo-liberal and neo-conservative approaches in Turkey (Acar and Altinok, 2013). On the one hand, opportunity structures provide tools for economical liberation of women, but on the other hand, restrict with conservative gendered responsibilities. Stimulating small women enterprises sustains traditional gender roles by letting flexible working hours to women while providing some income to them (Toksöz, 2011).

By analyzing multiple and layered configurations of opportunity structures in both countries, this study has shown that the interactions of opportunity structures with social categories often in practice results in limiting women and migrant entrepreneurship, even when the opportunity structures might be designed to achieve the opposite. For instance, ethnic and/or women business associations in both countries seem to provide a closed-off network for (migrant) women, which is totally the opposite what these associations aim for. Also, the social and political discourses in each country present a less tolerant, supportive, or progressive atmosphere for Turkish migrant and women entrepreneurs compared to local and men entrepreneurs. Turkish women entrepreneurs need to overcome the tensions of being a Muslim, Turkish and woman simultaneously in the context of the Netherlands (Essers and Benschop, 2007) and being a working woman and/or mother in the context of Turkey (Karatas-Özkan et al., 2010).

Conclusion

Studying the interaction of opportunity structures with intersecting social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class within the contexts of the Netherlands and Turkey has provided a nuanced and layered understanding of opportunity structure, by showing various configurations of it. Based on this new understanding, we will discuss the major conclusion and the practical implications of this study in this section.

It can be concluded that multiple configurations of opportunity structures show that opportunity structures are actually discursive (McCammon, 2013) and 'in the making'. This is shown by the interaction of opportunity structures with social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class. Thus, we can no longer argue that opportunity structures are out there as separate entities influencing entrepreneurs in the same way (Giddens, 1984; Sarason et al., 2006). They are and become gendered and ethnicized either through exploitation of resources by a particular group of entrepreneurs or via the interpretations

of the actors in charge of execution and communication of these opportunity structures. Although rules and resources may not exclude (or positively discriminate) any specific groups of entrepreneurs explicitly, opportunity structures may become restricted (or extra supportive) for these groups as a result of the perceptions and interpretations of the representatives of the organisations. Various types of opportunity structures – social, political, and institutional – also help to show these multiple configurations explicitly by demonstrating the social and political discourses on Turkish women and women entrepreneurship and institutional assumptions of and expectations from these women entrepreneurs. Multiple types of opportunity structures and multiple configurations of these opportunity structures lead to an evaluation of opportunity structures from a broader scope and with a layered understanding.

As for practical implications of the study, the nuanced and layered understanding of opportunity structures suggests that opportunity structures should be subject to interventions for a more inclusive entrepreneurial environment. Where an opportunity structure restricts entrepreneurs, despite the initial purpose of that programme, facility or regulation (e.g., the income tax exemption legislation in Turkey), such restrictions should be noticed and altered by government officials, policy makers or representatives of entrepreneurial support organizations. Migrant and women entrepreneurs could then, for instance, be targeted with specific measures, vis-à-vis specific opportunity structures to increase economic growth, decrease poverty and unemployment, and ensure social integration and emancipation through entrepreneurship. These interventions should target to waive the gendered assumptions regarding women's participation in business organisations and trade offices leading to closed networks for Turkish women in Turkey, while sustain or even extend existing funding alternatives. The supports provided in the Netherlands in helping Turkish women entrepreneurs with issues such as language and tax should be extended to network and funding possibilities. Also, the negative discursive approach in society and politics towards these women entrepreneurs should ideally be diminished with bias trainings or presentation of alternative images of these women on media. Then the regulatory bodies such as policy makers, bank officers, executors, and representatives of institutions should work on prompt and sound policies, rules and regulations especially via considering the discursive nature of opportunity structures and the underlying assumptions and perceptions on migrant and women entrepreneurs. By considering different types of opportunity structures such as social, political and institutional as well as the perceptions and assumptions underneath these opportunity structures, the regulatory bodies can have a more holistic approach on evaluating opportunity structures and understanding the influence of multiple opportunity structures simultaneously on the whole society including different social groups. It is especially important that this is done for minority entrepreneurs.

This chapter has focused on the layered and varying configurations of opportunity structures for women migrant entrepreneurs in two specific contexts; however, this chapter's insights can be extended to other (minority) groups of entrepreneurs. As opportunity structures are not stable, prone to change for people with varying social categories, and being enacted in specific contexts, it is important to consider how they are configured and for which specific groups, as has become clear in this current study. Future studies in this field might study possible interventions on opportunity structures for policy purposes, and might include other social categories and contexts such as disability and race to reflect on different configurations of opportunity structures for a more inclusive social and entrepreneurial environment.

CHAPTER 3

The interplay between identity construction and opportunity structures: Narratives of Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands

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Introduction

Existing research in the field of migrant entrepreneurship tends to study migrant entrepreneurs through an individual level of analysis (Azmat, 2013; Aliaga-Isla and Rialp, 2013). Usually their motivations, performance or the individual driving forces behind entrepreneurship are under scrutiny (Gonzalez and Husted, 2011; Azmat, 2013). However, the broader macro-influences of politics, media, or societal norms and practices upon an entrepreneur's identity tend to be neglected (Ahl, 2006; Jamali, 2009). Some, such as Kloosterman (2010), or Ram et al. (2013), focus on macro-structures while analysing migrant entrepreneurship, but they lack analysis at the individual, entrepreneurial level. Such studies 'disregard freely chosen strategies of the migrant entrepreneurs themselves' (Jones et al., 2014, p. 501), as they aim to make international comparisons across countries (Tseng, 2004). In this article, we argue that in order to have a better understanding of migrant women entrepreneurship, the analysis of the interlinked relationship between individual identities and structures is necessary. Both actors and context affect the meaning of entrepreneurship, and how it is defined and practiced (Welter, 2011).

Extant contextual studies of women's entrepreneurship highlight gendered sociocultural norms upon women's inclusion as entrepreneurs (Bruni et al., 2004; Duberley and Carrigan, 2013; Yousafzai et al., 2019). Also, some intersectional studies observe the impact of religious or ethnic norms (Essers and Benschop, 2007, 2009; Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2010) or the sociopolitical environment (Essers and Tedmanson, 2014) upon migrant women's entrepreneurial experiences and identifications. Yet, in order to fully understand migrant women's entrepreneurship, more attention is required regarding the relationship between entrepreneurial identities and structures (Lewis, 2013) such as media, discourses on multiculturalism, processes of migration, political discourses in both countries of residence and origin, or integration policies. How entrepreneurial identities are constructed, and the manner in which women experience entrepreneurship, is influenced by such issues (Steyaert and Katz, 2004). In this study, we use the term 'opportunity structure' to account for these influences, defining them as 'situational constraints and opportunities' (Johns, 2006) at sociocultural and politico-institutional levels. The relationship between opportunity structures and identity construction processes is more porous than an inner/outer dichotomy would suggest. This means that there is nothing objectively 'out there'. Entrepreneurial identities are relationally constructed with opportunity structures (Diaz Garcia and Welter, 2013), whilst perception of the relevance of different opportunity structures is mediated by gender, ethnicity and class. For instance, a wealthy migrant woman born in the Netherlands would perceive opportunity structures differently than would a working-class migrant woman.

It is precisely with this focus that we explore the relationship between entrepreneurial identity construction processes and opportunity structures. Building upon previous research on the interdependence of structure and agency (Giddens, 1984; Sarason et al., 2006), we ask the following question: *How do women entrepreneurs of Turkish origin construct their entrepreneurial identities, while responding to, deploying, and adjusting to the opportunity structures in the Netherlands*?' This study is highly pertinent given the recent political developments in the Netherlands regarding the social and economic inclusion of migrants in general, and Turkish people in particular (Essers and Tedmanson, 2014). Also, recent nationalistic policies in Turkey have politicised Turkish people and polarised Dutch society leading to negative public opinion regarding Turkish people by the Dutch majority (Hageman, 2017). Drawing on 10 life stories (McKenzie, 2007) of one-and-a-half- and second-generation Turkish women entrepreneurs, we illustrate the manner in which opportunity structures influence entrepreneurial identity construction, leading to a better understanding of this process among migrant women entrepreneurs. Accordingly, analysing the relationship between structures and identities provides a more complete picture of the complex phenomenon of entrepreneurship and particularly, of migrant women's entrepreneurship.

Analysing how various identity categories of inclusion and exclusion (Essers, Benschop, and Doorewaard, 2010) are constructed regarding various opportunity structures, relates to the concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1997). Intersectionality inherently expresses the complexity of the interdependent relationship between identity construction and opportunity structures. It helps to generate new conclusions concerning the entrepreneurial identities of ethnic minority women and how they incorporate surrounding structures such as politics, religion, class, society or culture (Holvino, 2010). It enables us to recognise differences in entrepreneurial identity constructions of a group of entrepreneurs with a similar background as they might interpret and frame opportunity structures differently.

The following sections will first, theorise opportunity structures in relation to migrant women entrepreneurship and then relate this to the identity constructions of Turkish women entrepreneurs considering gender, ethnicity and class. Second, we will discuss our research methodology. Third we will present excerpts of four narratives of Turkish women entrepreneurs to demonstrate their interactions with opportunity structures and the ways opportunity structures influence their identity construction processes while they interpret and frame these opportunity structures. Finally, we will discuss the findings and the contributions to the academic literature, while also providing some recommendations for future studies.

Contextualisation of opportunity structures in the Netherlands

In the migrant entrepreneurship literature, migrant business is considered as an outcome of the interaction between ethnic resources (i.e., social capital) and opportunity structures, with the two linked by entrepreneurial strategies (Ram et al., 2017, p. 35). Opportunity structures entail market conditions that enable or hamper migrant entrepreneurship. Relating to such opportunity structures, entrepreneurial resources –including human, financial and social capital– form the potential for entrepreneurial activity within a region (Kloosterman, 2010). These resources are also influenced by national institutions, laws, rules and regulations such as requirements for a diploma or certain language qualifications (Kloosterman, 2010).

This definition of opportunity structure as 'market conditions enabling or hampering migrant entrepreneurship' is so broad that nearly everything can be subsumed under this label (Rath, 2000). The opportunity structures featured in the migrant entrepreneurship literature include local consumer markets and the regulatory environment (Kloosterman, 2010); 'blockages' or 'barriers' to particular markets on a financial or knowledge basis (Volery, 2007); educational and labour market discrimination (Jones et al., 2014); and racial exclusion and disadvantages associated with migrant status such as poor language skills, or human capital depreciation (Zhou, 2004). In this article, the term opportunity structure pertains to the total context of sociocultural and politico-institutional practices (Koopmans and Statham, 2000; Hooghe, 2005) discourses, norms, rules and regulations (Nicolini, 2012) within which Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs operate. We distinguish four opportunity structures: 1) government policies relating to migration and ethnic business development; 2) societal and political discourses about Turkish (Muslim) migrant women; 3) sociocultural ethnic norms and practices governing ethnic and business relations; and 4) the recent political context of Turkey with its nationalistic policies and political sanctions against terrorist groups. We now expand upon why we focus on these four opportunity structures exploring them further within our empirical analysis.

In the Netherlands, government policies regulating labour and business markets through standards, requirements or taxes influence all firms. Whilst there is no financial support provided by the government specifically to migrant women entrepreneurs, migration policies, drawing upon integration and emancipation objectives, have an impact on such women through direct state intervention. As such, there are regulations as fines imposed on migrants who fail to integrate after five years, dedicated welfare regimes and housing policies (Vasta, 2007). The Blok Report, Netherlands (2004) reveals that Dutch policy changed towards migrants moving from state protection to self-sufficiency and responsibility, waiving positive discrimination. However, negative discrimination continues, especially through societal and political discourses regarding (Muslim) Turkish migrant

women, which signify them as cultural and religious 'others' (Ghorashi, 2010; Verduijn and Essers, 2013). The religious identity of these women, particularly those who wear a headscarf, makes them the target of migrant-hostile statements from Dutch politicians (Siebers, 2010). These women, mostly coming from working-class families migrated to the Netherlands as guest workers in the 1960s and are generally considered lower status citizens (Vasta, 2007). Societal discourse still depicts the second generation of these original migrants as lower class, and their entrepreneurship does not offer social mobility (Beckers and Blumberg, 2013). Although a majority of their ventures remain gender specific businesses, such as beauty salons, fashion shops or retail businesses focusing on ethnic niches (Essers and Benschop, 2007), one-and-a-half- and second-generation Turkish women increasingly operate in more diverse sectors such as business services, accounting, consulting, or marketing (Baycan, 2013). This generation demonstrates higher levels of integration through education, language, cultural skills, and social contact with the host population. By using these skills and establishing more diverse businesses, they try to ascend the social ladder and hence, enhance their class position.

Turkish migrant women, as entrepreneurs, also have to deal with ethnic community norms and practices (Essers and Benschop, 2007). Women can be expected to accept patriarchal norms regarding the traditional division of tasks and often, whilst managing their firms, they also take responsibility for child care and household labour. This social control mechanism acts more powerfully on women than men, by defining what is considered gender-appropriate behaviour according to the ethnic and religious norms and practices of Turkish Muslim woman (Essers and Benschop, 2007). In addition, the recent nationalistic policies of the ruling political party in Turkey, JDP (Justice and Development Party) – the foundation of 'Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities' – and the influence of the current President of Turkey, Erdogan, with his political statements (Hageman, 2017; Aydin, 2016) influences the Turkish diaspora in the Netherlands. For example, the political friction between Turkey and the Netherlands, sparked the so-called 'Rotterdam Events'[1] in 2017, that politicised Turkish people in the Netherlands and polarised Dutch society with negative opinions about Turkish migrants (Hageman, 2017).

1 In 2017, the Dutch government refused to allow Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs to organise speeches in the Netherlands regarding the Turkish constitutional referendum and escorted Turkey's Minister of Family Affairs out of the Netherlands leading to street demonstrations in Rotterdam.

The interplay between opportunity structures and the identity construction process

After elaborating upon opportunity structures, we now theorise how they relate to identity construction in the field of migrant women's entrepreneurship. Identities are discursive social constructions, as are opportunity structures. Migrant women who self-identify as entrepreneurs are likely to relate to the mainstream entrepreneurship discourse (Anderson and Warren, 2011) which builds upon Western male archetype (Essers and Benschop, 2007). Yet, such women also construct an identity related to place. By this, we mean that 'being an entrepreneur' emerges from a shared understanding historically shaped by national or regional institutional discourses, the communities to which people belong and other relevant groups in that region/country (Gill, 2017a). The answer to the question of 'Who am I?' in relation to religion, politics, society, media, culture, gender, ethnicity and class in the entrepreneurship context is crafted in relation to various opportunity structures in a region or nation in a dynamic and relational manner (Welter, 2011; Stead, 2017; Diaz Garcia and Welter, 2013).

Within the context of these various opportunity structures in a particular place, each migrant woman entrepreneur draws from the entrepreneurship discourse differently. These women adapt to the sociocultural opportunity structures of mainstream society while also conforming to specific ethnic sociocultural opportunity structures. In addition, they prioritise, or balance, politico-institutional opportunity structures of their countries of origin and those of their residence into their entrepreneurship; as such, they may either reject or adhere to gendered and ethnic norms. While rejecting femininity, they might embrace their ethnicity or vice versa (Essers and Benschop, 2007). Within the Dutch context, this identity construction process, oscillating between traditional versus autonomous affiliation, intersects within opportunity structures.

We study intersections of gender, ethnicity and class as simultaneous processes of identity. As historically-formed complex social constructions, gender is a cultural interpretation relating to masculinity and femininity and related practices within a system of gender relations (Connell and Connell, 2005), ethnicity is an ideological construct emphasising belongingness to a specific group (Anthias, 2001), and class is a construction of social relations around hierarchical status (Acker, 2000). In the entrepreneurship discourse, gender and ethnicity are discussed as the most common areas of inclusion or exclusion (Bruni et al., 2004; Ogbor, 2000), while class is largely disregarded. However, we consider class relevant since entrepreneurs in different social classes perceive and interpret opportunity structures differently and construct their entrepreneurial identities respectively.

The relevance and significance of opportunity structures are determined through the interrelatedness of these social categories. In other words, Turkish women entrepreneurs construct their entrepreneurial identities intersectionally on the basis of gender, ethnicity,

and class (Crenshaw, 1997) while responding, deploying, and adjusting to various opportunity structures, which are also realised and understood through the constructions of these social categories. As Holvino (2010) argues, social categories intersecting with the private world of home and family, and the public world of business and work, lie at the intersection of sociocultural and politico-institutional opportunity structures. Together, they form our notion of intersectionality informing the interplay between identity construction and opportunity structures for Turkish women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands.

This study focuses on one-and-a-half- and second-generation Turkish migrant women. Second-generation migrants consist of migrant children born in the Netherlands from at least one migrant parent, or those children migrated with their parents before the age of six (Van Ours and Veenman, 2002). The one-and-a-half generation includes young people who migrated with their families and continued their education in the destination country (Ip and Hsu, 2006). The generations to which these women belong are disclosed not for comparison reasons, but to present the ways they perceive opportunity structures in contrast to first-generation migrants. As such, through their greater proficiency with the Dutch language and culture, they are more engaged with discussions about migrants in media and politics and therefore become more aware of prevailing societal and political discourses. In addition, the influence of ethnic community norms and practices has lessened as these women entrepreneurs have been integrated within the Dutch education system, learned the language, had more contact with the host population and national culture and were less concerned regarding the erosion of religious and cultural influence arising from this integration.

The next section presents the methodology, frames the data collection and analysis methods, after which the analysis is presented.

Methodology

We explore the manner in which women entrepreneurs perceive, interpret and frame various opportunity structures and construct their entrepreneurial identities accordingly. The nature of the study requires an interpretative research strategy; thus, we conducted ten in-depth life-story interviews (McKenzie, 2007) with Turkish women entrepreneurs operating in the Netherlands. These life stories were then followed with more specific questions to receive detailed information about certain theoretical concepts. The life-story approach supports reflection on past experiences, in which memories of pain or joy are transmitted into the constructions of current identities. For instance, having migrated as the daughter of a political refugee or a guest worker influences identity construction in relation to ethnicity and sociocultural influences (Ghorashi, 2008). Accordingly, social

categories as well as the opportunity structures are historically formed. Thus, the historical dimension of this research and the processual nature of identity construction require using life stories (Ghorashi, 2008, p. 119).

The ten life-stories were collected in four different Dutch cities: Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Utrecht (Appendix.3), those cities with the densest Turkish migrant populations in the Netherlands (Kloosterman, 2004). The interviewees were selected through the snowball sampling method (Patton, 2002). The first author, a female Turkish researcher, conducted the interviews drawing upon her connections with Turkish business networks. Rather than asking the first respondents to identify further cases, the entrepreneur's social networks were explored through the social media channel 'LinkedIn' given its professional positioning. The middle-class orientation of LinkedIn helped us reach women entrepreneurs of Turkish origin seeking social mobility through their business and entrepreneurial identity constructions. Thus, the selection bias through the use of LinkedIn as a selection tool facilitated examining the manner in which class is constructed in the entrepreneurship context and intersects with gender and ethnicity in relation to opportunity structures such as the societal and political discourses attributing a lower social class to Turkish migrant women. We also scanned major LinkedIn networking groups such as the 'Global Entrepreneurship Network', the 'Turkish Business Network', and the 'Network of Women Entrepreneurs and Businesswomen' to create an initial list of forty Turkish female entrepreneurs.

In our selection process, we wanted our interviewees to be practising, experienced entrepreneurs and familiar with prevailing opportunity structures. Thus, we had the following criteria: the women needed to be actively involved in the day-to-day business operations for a minimum of five years in the Netherlands, be exposed to the Dutch education system, have Turkish ancestry and have lived at least half of their lives in the Netherlands. We selected ten women entrepreneurs fulfilling these criteria in order to undertake an exploratory study. Our sample included women with diverse religious backgrounds: Sunni-Muslims, a Christian and a Kurdish-Alevi woman (Appendix.3). All of the interviews, with the exception of one undertaken in English, were conducted in Turkish, recorded digitally and transcribed literally.

We concede that the identities of the interviewer, being a veiled Turkish female researcher, who is also the first author and the lead in interpreting the transcripts, might have influenced the narrative construction of these women. For example, given the fact that the interviewees and the interviewer were of the same sex and ethnicity may have eased the atmosphere and facilitated understanding between the two parties; but it may have also politicised the interviewer-interviewee relationship given the political implications of the headscarf. Yet, regarding the issues of power dynamics and ethics, having detailed discussions with the second author, a female researcher of Dutch origin experienced in the field of migrant women entrepreneurship, helped to increase reflexive consideration of the research process.

We performed a four-stage analysis (Alkhaled and Berglund, 2018) using the interview transcripts as the units of our narrative analysis (McAdams, 2012). First, we read all transcripts with the intention of tracing the influence of the four opportunity structures discussed earlier. We saw the impact of societal and political discourses in the Netherlands on Turkish (Muslim) women in all of the narratives we collected. We traced the influence of government policies regarding the labour and ethnic business market on entrepreneurial practices of Turkish migrant women, but not directly on their identity constructions. Government policies were considered as a general mechanism that exerts power with an excessive amount of regulations and control (Ahl and Nelson, 2015). Ethnic community norms and practices influenced almost all of the women except the Assyrian-Turkish woman, who did not know Turkish or Assyrian language and had no contact with the ethnic community. The nationalistic Turkish politics influenced five of the ten participants in their identity construction processes.

Second, we re-read all transcripts to find the common themes regarding the interaction of identity construction and opportunity structures (Watzlawik and Born, 2007). We focused on elements of the narratives where the women entrepreneurs discussed the four opportunity structures; those most frequently mentioned were: (1) the image of Turkish women in society, media and politics as daughters of guest workers but now, being highly educated bosses/employers/entrepreneurs, (2) their exposure to different languages and cultures and their entrepreneurial and emotional connectedness/ties to Turkey, (3) and political developments in Turkey, disputes between the two countries and the tensions on choosing a side in these events. From these narrative excerpts, we deduced that these women were concerned about their social status, strategically positioned themselves in connection to Turkey and highly politicised. On this basis, we derived three themes: politicisation, class-consciousness, and transnational and cosmopolitan positioning. The use of the life-story method helped us generate these themes. Having the life-stories at hand, we could assess these women's connection with Turkey and political involvement earlier in their lives and could understand their recent transnational positioning with Turkey as a strategic choice and their current politicisation process. Also, we could understand their relationships within Dutch society as Turkish migrant women and interpret their sense of equality leading them to class-consciousness.

Third, we were curious about how these Turkish women entrepreneurs constructed their identities in relation to the opportunity structures in each theme. Although we acknowledge that these themes are interrelated, to explicitly analyse them, we treat them separately. Our aim is not to apply categories to these discussions but to identify the ways the women construct and employ these categories. Thus, we employed a critical approach deploying a discursive analysis (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). We

identified how these women perceive societal and political discourses related to migrant women entrepreneurship in the Dutch context. We analysed their perceptions about politics on Turkish (Muslim) women through the discourses emerged from the interviews such as 'Geert Wilders' utterances (the Dutch leader of the anti-immigration and anti-Islamisation party, Party for Freedom), President Erdogan's statements or the discourses on the headscarf or guest workers. The interviewees independently raised these issues regarding the political figures; this conveyed their understanding and interpretation of everyday micro- and macro-oriented forms of opportunity structures and practices within which they are constituted. Then, we analysed the manner in which they discursively constructed their identities (Neergaard and Ulhøi, 2007). This identified alternative discourses such as Kemalism or modernity, transferring images through certain role models such as a political figure, the President of Turkey, or using discursive elements connected with their professions as doctors, architects, lawyers and the entrepreneurship discourse itself with their appeals of social mobility.

Fourth, we selected four stories that we considered most illustrative regarding the influence of opportunity structures on identity construction. Each theme was discussed in detail with two or three narrative excerpts from these four stories. These selected stories provided the richest cases covering the overarching themes found across the ten life-stories. This level of analysis illustrated the nuances of the interaction between opportunity structures and identity construction.

Findings: Dealing with diverse opportunity structures

In this section, we draw upon excerpts of life stories related to each theme to disclose how Turkish women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands construct their entrepreneurial identities in relation to various opportunity structures. First, we introduce the four Turkish women entrepreneurs, pseudonyms are used to respect privacy: Gulay (38) was born and raised in the Netherlands, owns a company in medical care services with 150 employees, lives in Amsterdam, is married to a Turkish man and has two children. Serenay (47) came to the Netherlands aged six, is a journalist, media professional, wine broker, and a lecturer; she owns a magazine targeting Mediterranean women with a Muslim background and lives in Rotterdam. She is divorced with a son and has a Turkish boyfriend. Nuray (45) came to the Netherlands aged six, is a medical doctor and acts as a medical consultant; she is married to a Turkish man, has a daughter, and lives in the Hague. Miray (34) was born and raised in the Netherlands, has an interior design business, works with construction companies, is married to a Turkish man and lives in Rotterdam.

Politicisation

Politicisation refers to Turkish women's articulation of a political stance by active or passive involvement in politics or political discussions with a reflection of such in their identity construction processes. Here, we present two narrative excerpts from interviews with Miray and Gulay to exemplify such politicisation process and its influence upon entrepreneurial identification and experience. From her exposure to societal and political discourses, Miray interprets that Dutch people who follow Geert Wilders do not want to work, but blame Muslims for their unemployment, and she sees the Dutch media as pursuing a slander campaign against Turkey. She contends that she wants to be connected with a powerful country and a nation that supports her and makes her feel safe and included; this desire is fulfilled via President Erdogan, with his nationalistic political statements. She believes her identity is of value by reflecting President Erdogan's claims of a powerful nation as a reaction to perceived Western inhospitality. As a result, her construction of an entrepreneurial identity is highly politicised:

> I explain to people that [President] Erdogan is defending you. He gives you self-confidence that you have a powerful country behind you. Like he says 'you might live in a foreign country but don't be suppressed'. My friends ask me 'you and him, but you are modern'. I explain them 'my modernity continues, it is different, you cannot compare'. Although I was born here, I love my culture and being Turkish, I don't always declare it but defend it. In the Rotterdam event, of course we were affected, but let Turks live their emotions and they will turn normal in two months and they did. (…) In the construction site, they don't look at you as Turkish or Dutch, but woman. Man is man, I have to protect being a woman and superior there.

Miray supports President Erdogan, not only as the political leader of Turkey, but also as the leader of Turks all over the world. Thus, she consciously chooses parts of President Erdogan's political discourse to strengthen her entrepreneurial identity; this intersects with her ethnicity and class emphasising 'being powerful and not suppressed' as an ethnic minority entrepreneur living in a foreign country. However, she purposefully disregards gender-related aspects of his discourse that do not support her identity as a Turkish woman entrepreneur in the Netherlands. So, she differentiates being modern and a follower of President Erdogan in response to the perception of her Dutch friends about the incompatibility of modernity and his political discourse. Miray's accounts of gender are more apparent in her narration relating to her entrepreneurial identity within the construction industry rather than in politics. This industry is traditionally male-dominated; she felt a need to carefully protect and balance her conflicting roles as a woman and being in a superior position to male workers, regardless of their ethnicity. However, modernity is a gendered political discourse (Göle, 2002), given that Muslim women who chose to

wear a headscarf are often seen as less modern in both countries. Also, such interactions with the opposite sex in public spheres can be seen as a sign of modernity. Thus, Miray faces contradictions in this political discourse regarding gender; yet, she resolves this by constructing gender and politics separately. Similarly, she tries to decrease the influence of tensions she experiences given the recent political friction between the two countries by underplaying what has happened. She defines her business as a bridge between her Turkish and Dutch clients, which might be badly affected if political relations between the two countries grow worse. In order to secure her entrepreneurial interests, she appears to consider recent events as an emotional reaction that diminished after two months.

In the next excerpt, we draw on Gulay's interview. Besides the influence of the political discourse in the Netherlands, Gulay refers to the influences of recent terrorist events (as formally described by the Turkish government) related to diverse Muslim communities such as the community previously known as the 'Gulen movement'[2]:

> We don't have any relations with Turkish politics. We are affected by Dutch politics, because of the direct regulations in the medical industry. (…) It might influence our credibility in doing business with municipalities or insurance companies, because I am a veiled woman and Turkish. I make jokes about my headscarf or tunic; then Dutch people feel more comfortable and talk. No one tells from my emails that I am Turkish, but in the receptions, they check if I can speak Dutch or if I can fluently (…) Of course, we experienced the impact of the political battle between [President] Erdogan and Gulen. Our patients asked which political stream we were following or even if we were terrorists. We are not working with that religious community. I tried to end the rumours in the last months. There are people in my company with different political views. I don't share mine but stay neutral. I do this consciously, because you are either one of them, or you are bad.

Gulay acknowledges that politics definitely influences her entrepreneurial activity since she is operating in the health industry reliant on state funds and regulations. Interestingly, she says that Dutch politics influences her business more so than Turkish politics. However, as she works mostly with Turkish, rather than Dutch clients, in the context of recent fierce debates within both Turkish and Dutch communities regarding politics in Turkey, she has had to defend herself and her company against questions of partisanship. She reassured her clients that she and her business partner were not supporters of Gulen and she stays politically neutral, although both her clients and her employees are highly politicised.

2 A transnational organisation inspired by the religious teachings of Fethullah Gulen, active in education and interfaith dialogue along with investments in media and finance, recently classified as a terrorist organisation by Turkish government.

The headscarf is a gendered and political artefact both in the Netherlands and Turkey (Kavakci-Islam, 2010). With the headscarf, Gulay as a Turkish Muslim migrant woman might seem to have a political stance. Yet, from her experience, she believes being involved in politics is detrimental for her enterprise. As a response to the societal and political discourses in both countries, she tries to detach herself and her company from politics by making jokes about her appearance as a veiled woman and keeping her political views hidden. She tries to construct an apolitical entrepreneurial identity, although she is highly politicised by others in her environment. By making jokes about her headscarf, she normalises and disassociates it from political attributions but also from social discourses on Turkish Muslim women with respect to class. The headscarf in the Dutch context has an image of a socially lower status (Roggeband and Verloo, 2007). Gulay wants to communicate with the Dutch people in an open way without being perceived as a veiled migrant woman with lower educational, social, and economic status attributions. This process of class-consciousness is discussed in detail in the following section with various narrative excerpts.

Class-consciousness

Class-consciousness refers to the Turkish women's awareness of their social status and reactions to ascribed and desired levels of social status. In this study, Turkish women entrepreneurs consciously oppose their ascribed lower social status as associated with their ethnic identity in Dutch society and seem to construct an enhanced social status through their entrepreneurship (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000). Three interview excerpts from Serenay, Miray and Nuray demonstrate the class-consciousness of Turkish women entrepreneurs with respect to religion, politics, ethnicity, and gender.

Serenay constructs her multiple identities while interpreting the societal and political discourses on Muslims as stereotypically universalising Turkish people as all being Muslims and all practicing Islam in the same way:

> Dutch people always think stereotypical. They say that Turkish women are like this or behave like that. But no, some don't drink alcohol, but some do. My father is a Kemalist teacher sent by the Turkish government and he drinks 'Turkish raki' with his friends. I want them to get rid of stereotypical thinking. This is how my work provides a different image for Turkish women, for women with an Islamic background. If they see people like me with a different profile, Dutch people will come closer and say 'we are not different at all!' (…) There is a saying that you have to meet on common grounds. I think of wine, or journalism. Wine can be an ambassador; then you can enter their world. I did the same thing with my magazine.

We can see how Serenay is concerned with Dutch people 'pigeonholing' Turkish people based on their perceptions about religion. As a Turkish migrant woman, due to the cultural and religious responsibilities imposed upon women, she feels more constrained by this stereotyping, aiming to reduce it through her entrepreneurship. With her wine brokerage, she constructs an entrepreneurial identity challenging the stereotype of Turkish (Muslim) women (Essers and Benschop, 2007) who do not drink alcohol and through her magazine she also presents alternative images of Turkish women. In her narrative, she uses the words 'Islamic background' instead of 'Muslim' as to distance herself from being seen as a stereotypical, Muslim Turkish woman.

Serenay states that she is different from the Dutch people because of her physical appearance and cultural experience with a Turkish background. In societal discourse, her being different implicitly refers to a lower social status. Thus, she constructs an entrepreneurial identity on being not different from the majority Dutch population, which contradicts her experiences. She opposes this ascribed lower status intersecting with her ethnicity and gender by differentiating herself from the general Turkish migrants with a different migration history and positioning herself as a role model ("if they show people like me") through her entrepreneurship. Following the Kemalist discourse by stating her father was a Kemalist teacher (people who follow the doctrines of Ataturk, the founder of Turkish Republic) sent by the Turkish government, she presents herself as self-reliant and constructs her entrepreneurial identity accordingly. She acts on this by referring to embracing differences, understanding people from different cultures and worldviews, and meeting on common grounds. This understanding of 'common ground' with wine brokerage and a woman's magazine is based on gaining acceptance from people with non-Islamic and non-Mediterranean backgrounds. As such, she engages with a process of westernisation (Ogbor, 2000) to gain social acceptance, since she has been 'ethnicised' and 'othered' through stereotyping constructing an entrepreneurial identity intersecting with gender, religion, ethnicity and class, which is much closer to the image of a 'Dutch/Western woman' (Essers and Tedmanson, 2014).

The next excerpt demonstrates the class-consciousness of Miray who believes that Turkish people contribute to the Dutch economy with their entrepreneurial initiatives; yet, they are still seen as lower status citizens. For Miray, this is not only related to the manner in which Dutch people treat migrants, but also self-perception of migrants in this category. Therefore, she reinforces her status in society by employing a political narrative:

> You work, work and still find yourself at the same position. Very bad! But I believe that when you work hard, you will succeed somehow. But the Dutch are jealous, because our fathers came as workers, now we are employers! People who work for me, they are Dutch. We [Turkish people] don't need to be suppressed by the Dutch.

> I say that [President] Erdogan is right, because he is talking on the same level. 'You are not more than me!' We can agree or disagree. This doesn't mean that I have to be suppressed.

Miray does not base her identity upon being a lower-class citizen as she is well educated, owns her own business and occupies a middle-class position in economic terms. However, her emphasis on the desire to not be subordinated reveals her concern regarding class status. Entrepreneurship brings her upwards socioeconomic mobility (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000), as those with migrant worker origins become employers. Through entrepreneurship, she elevates her status in Dutch society from being the daughter of a guest worker to a Turkish women entrepreneur employing Dutch employees. Yet, Miray still justifies her elevation in political terms; she idealises President Erdogan because he satisfies a need to challenge the Dutch discourse that ascribes lower status to Turkish migrants.

We move on to Nuray's interview to illustrate that she is also highly conscious about class. For her, class is related to Islam and Muslims being disrespected by societal and political discourses on (Turkish) Muslim migrants and sociocultural and religious practices of the Turkish ethnic community. Turkish community practices are criticised as misrepresenting Islam; she blames Western media and politicians for using Muslims and Turkey for their political agendas. Moreover, she values recent nationalistic policies and political figures in Turkey as modest and humane. In reaction to these political and sociocultural opportunity structures, she constructs an entrepreneurial identity based on being respected, by having ethical principles and working professionally and modestly:

> Everyone knows my quality! When we make contracts, they don't have any trouble. My clients always tell me 'write all the hours you worked for us, we know you even work in your own time, you are honest.' They always respect me (…) Sometimes I cannot perform my religious duties, but I help people a lot. If I wore a headscarf, I wouldn't have performed my job that well, people might not tell everything to me. (…) I don't like this thing, even my relatives call me Mrs. Doctor, no I don't come as a doctor here. I just earn my money with it.

For Nuray, respect is related to class. In her interpretation, she is respected as a Turkish Muslim woman in every social setting: at the 'gymnasium' (or as she calls it, the 'school of elites'), at the medical school, in hospitals, or in her own company. Gaining power from her entrepreneurial identity as a 'company doctor' Nuray gains an enhanced social status. Thus, her entrepreneurial identity as a 'powerful and respectful' Muslim women entrepreneur is constructed through professionalism and ethics; hence, she does not wear a headscarf, although she believes in the religious obligation to be veiled.

Reflecting on this issue, she might have explained why she does not wear a headscarf to the interviewer, who was veiled, in order to justify that not wearing a headscarf is a pragmatic choice to benefit her entrepreneurship rather than a religious expression. If she were to wear a headscarf as a woman entrepreneur, she might not escape the denigrated image of Muslim women. However, somewhat controversially, while she wants to occupy a higher social class, she criticises elitist behaviours and refuses to use her title as a company doctor in her daily life stating that she only uses her title to earn her living.

Transnational and cosmopolitan positioning

Transnational and cosmopolitan positioning indicates exploitation of transnational and cosmopolitan resources and business networks and sociocultural attachment to Turkey. Becoming highly politicised and class-conscious, the Turkish migrant women in our study either position themselves transnationally or more broadly, in a cosmopolitan way illustrated with narrative excerpts from Nuray and Serenay. As one-and-a-half- and second-generation migrants, their higher levels of education, language skills and ability to exploit transnational resources help them build transnational connections in economic terms or emotionally by a sense of belonging.

For example, Nuray says:

> There was pressure on women among the Turkish community, maybe there still is. I don't have much connection now. I simply don't follow the culture. Till I was 6, I received my real Turkish culture in Turkey before I came here. I never give that up. (…) I often go to Turkey. Why don't I? It needs me. (…) Regardless of their race or religion, I examine lots of women. Their problems are the same; the biology is the same. The important thing is to understand each other. I gossip with Indians, Chinese or Surinamese about the Dutch. They don't recognise that I am Turkish. Some consider me Arab, Persian, Indian or Russian. But yes, being a woman has many advantages; I understand womanhood, and being a mother, pregnancy problems, motherhood, hormones.

Nuray differentiates Turkish culture in the Turkish community in the Netherlands and that of Turkey; she distances herself from the community culture as to distance herself from certain ethnic community practices and sociocultural and religious constraints imposed upon women. The six years of her childhood spent in Turkey was deemed to be the time she assimilated her 'real' Turkish culture. In response to her understanding of being part of the Turkish community, Nuray does not construct a Turkish ethnicity in the Dutch context. Instead, she constructs her ethnicity as a foreigner in her entrepreneurship; being a foreigner, woman and entrepreneur simultaneously helps her to understand patient

problems better and brings her entrepreneurial success. Nuray can empathise with them in their relationships with the Dutch or in their problems with womanhood or motherhood; she cannot identify with the Turkish community yet, she wants to maintain her Turkish identity. Therefore, she constructs a transnational entrepreneurial identity (Vertovec, 2001), which is more of a strategic choice. While she has emotional connections with Turkey, she wants to be seen as part of it, rather than having transnational business links since she is working as a medical doctor and consults companies in the Netherlands. In the next excerpt, we draw upon Serenay's interview, where she constructs a more cosmopolitan entrepreneurial identity:

> Our world experience is different than the Dutch. Consider someone like me. You're living here; your Dutch is perfect; you know the Dutch culture well. But you are different. You have Turkish parents, you came from the Turkish culture; you go to Turkey on holiday. (...) My magazine is unique. None of the magazines speak to these women. I have a huge media network. I write for many magazines, since I am an exclusive person. I am a cosmopolitan, I live here, I have lived in US, I can live in Turkey, now I am going to Sweden maybe, I will live there.

Ascribing to two cultures might be deemed problematic as contradictions might emerge positioning individuals between cultural norms (Arends-Toth and van de Vijver, 2003). However, Serenay constructs her identities intersectionally in a pragmatic way. In her media company, she targets Mediterranean women with a Muslim background recognising the need of these women to advance their lives. In addition, as a wine lover she sees an opportunity in the scarcity of Turkish wines in overseas markets and becomes a Turkish wine broker. Serenay is multi-lingual and travels frequently; she uses these resources and exploits her cosmopolitan networks. From her perspective, Turkish (Muslim) women in the Netherlands have a lower status; her interpretation is that she cannot be identified as Dutch given her background and physical appearance. Thus, in response, she excludes herself from these cultures with which she cannot fully identify. Through her entrepreneurial activity she constructs a cosmopolitan identity (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002), which offers more scope for social mobility and entrepreneurial success.

Discussion

In this article, we studied the manner in which politico-institutional and sociocultural opportunity structures interrelate with entrepreneurial identity construction processes (Steyaert and Katz, 2004) and how entrepreneurial identity is constructed intersectionally through gender, ethnicity, and class in relation to these opportunity structures (Sarason et

al., 2006, Stead, 2017). We believe that studying opportunity structures has demonstrated explicitly the impact that context has upon entrepreneurial identity construction. Different interpretations and framings of opportunity structures among a group of entrepreneurs with a similar background result in diverse intersections of entrepreneurship, religion, politics, gender, ethnicity, and class. For instance, Serenay and Nuray denounce their ethnic identities (Essers and Benschop, 2007) and construct transnational and cosmopolitan identities by excluding themselves from their communities, whereas Miray constructs a highly political identity by focussing upon being Turkish in the Dutch context.

We have seen that the women in this study construct their entrepreneurial identities strategically and purposefully in negotiation with particular perceptions regarding gender, ethnicity and class and by careful consideration of the opportunity structures. To be able to operate and succeed as entrepreneurs, they enter into complex identity work, in which they use their agency to construct an entrepreneurial identity that works for them within these particular opportunity structures. Because of these opportunity structures, they make very clear choices about how they present their identities in their entrepreneurship. However, they also find themselves in complex situations when they need to move between their identities (Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2010). For instance, Miray purposefully distances her gender identity from her political identity and constructs it through modernity, which is also a gendered political artefact. She finds it difficult to move between her gender and political identity, which she tries to construct separately. In response, she adheres to her ethnicity when constructing her political identity and resists to masculine connotations of the industry when constructing her gender identity (Essers and Benschop, 2007).

Researching women entrepreneurs at the intersection of migration, gender and identity also yields novel insights concerning opportunity recognition. We have observed less feminised, ethnicised, and working-class related businesses and more diverse companies with more mainstream clientele and middle-class connotations such as medical or legal consultants, interior designers, media communicators or wine brokers. However, these entrepreneurs still either exploit their ethnic networks or operate in ethnic niches, such as the medical firm with an ethnic clientele or a magazine for Mediterranean women with a Muslim background. The construction and enactment of these firms show how such businesses can be used for upwards social mobility in relation to gender and ethnicity (Villares-Varela, 2018; Villares-Varela and Essers, 2019). We have shown how these non-normative businesses are used by those women in this study to counter the negative stereotypical lower status image of Turkish women in Dutch society as being non-modern or non-emancipated and to act as role models. Hence, these businesses have become sociopolitically oriented activities (Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2013) disrupting the political discussions about migrant women in popular media and the sociopolitical context.

The results of this study lead us to suggest that these three processes of identity construction apply more to middle-class, one-and-a-half- and second-generation women entrepreneurs than first-generation lower-class women entrepreneurs. The former is educated in Dutch schools with their Dutch peers; for most, Dutch is their first language. They consider themselves as middle-class citizens given their higher educational and socioeconomic credentials contradicting the image of Turkish (Muslim) women in the Dutch discourse (Essers and Benschop, 2007, 2009). This leads these women to be more concerned about their class positions and hence more aware of and participatory within political discussions in both countries.

Limitations

We believe that opportunity structures and identity construction are two social phenomena interdependent in a dynamic and recursive manner (Lewis, 2013; Welter, 2011). There are some limitations to our work; due to the scope of this study and the requirement of a longitudinal approach, we could not examine the change in the opportunity structures. Future longitudinal studies might explore the influence of identities on the opportunity structures and provide insights on the possibility and level of change in social structures, and on the influence of this change on the reconstruction of identities. The use of LinkedIn helped us study class with respect to the opportunity structures, but it also limited our sample with middle-class women entrepreneurs. Regarding what our study has brought into discussion with respect to class, a comparative study between classes in various generations would be an interesting contribution to the field of entrepreneurship.

Conclusion

The contribution of this study to the entrepreneurship literature is three-fold. First, we demonstrate how politics, both in the country of residence and country of origin, influences identity constructions. Together with the sociopolitical discourse in the Netherlands, Turkey's nationalistic policies have politicised Turkish people in the Netherlands. The Turkish diaspora closely follows political issues in both countries and discusses politics and ethnicity within their daily lives. Given the ease of travel, or communication channels like social media (Zhou, 2004), the political circumstances in Turkey become more visible and so, influence the entrepreneurial identity construction processes of the women with respect to (discourses on) gender, ethnicity and class. Political disputes between the two countries, as well as domestic politics in both countries, influenced the women's entrepreneurial identity constructions, either in a highly political or apolitical manner forcing them to distance their gender identity from politics.

Second, our research illustrates an under-researched issue in entrepreneurship studies, that of class. The women in our study are concerned about the image of Turkish women regarding their social status and acceptance in Dutch society. Being one-and-a-half- or second-generation, they are well educated, multi-lingual and financially independent. In response to the societal and political discourses on Turkish (Muslim) women, they distanced themselves from the Turkish community in the Netherlands rejecting perceptions of being a 'typical' Turkish migrant with a different migration history, or by not engaging in ethnic cultural practices. It is widely viewed that social exclusion strengthens group cohesion and in-group ethnic bonding, networking and access to group resources (Robertson and Grant, 2016); however, the women in our study valued their connection with Turkey using discourses of modernity and Kemalism in Turkey to elevate their class positions in the Netherlands. As such, they presumed there are more liberated modern women in Turkey than in the Turkish community in the Netherlands (Essers and Tedmanson, 2014) with whom they identified.

Third, this study contributes to the entrepreneurship literature on the transnational and cosmopolitan positioning of migrant women entrepreneurs (Vertovec, 2001; Vertovec and Cohen, 2002). Transnational entrepreneurship, as an emergent field (Drori et al., 2009), studies transnational entrepreneurs with a business-related link between their country of origin and residence. In this article, we studied transnationalism with entrepreneurial identity construction (Vertovec, 2001). Also influenced by the processes of politicisation and class-consciousness, the women in this study utilise their skills, bicultural literacy and transnational network to expand their middle-class status (Zhou and Tseng, 2001). The women exploit transnational resources, which might be either unobserved, or unavailable to other entrepreneurs operating in a single location. While they do not exploit transnational resources in their entrepreneurship, they still position themselves transnationally or in a cosmopolitan way by their sense of belonging and emotional connectedness with Turkey. Such transnational and cosmopolitan positioning also involves retaining their ethnic identity and non-assimilation stance (Drori et al., 2009). This does not mean that they have a sojourner orientation to their residential country, but that they have an increasingly stronger connection to the country of origin.

CHAPTER 4

A contextual analysis of entrepreneurial identity and experience: Women entrepreneurs in Turkey

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Introduction

Entrepreneurship scholars have recently developed an interest in how entrepreneurs feel and think about themselves and their companies in different settings (Leitch and Harrison, 2016; Yitshaki and Kropp, 2016; Karhunen, Olimpieva, and Hytti, 2017). Responding to the research agenda for a contextualized analysis of entrepreneurship (Yousafzai et al., 2019), this article focuses on the manners in which women experience themselves as entrepreneurs and construct their entrepreneurial identities in a specific context (Gill, 2017b; Steyaert and Katz, 2004; Welter et al., 2016). With Lewis (2013), we argue that who is - and can be - an 'entrepreneur' differs significantly in various settings. Identity construction is thus context-specific (Watson, 2009; Ybema et al., 2009) depending on the field of knowledge, prevalent discourses, and the practices involved in social, political and institutional settings (Ahonen et al., 2014, p. 269). We therefore study the context as a complex set of power relations, discursive practices and material resources that shape entrepreneurial experiences and identities of women entrepreneurs. In the academic literature on entrepreneurship, contextual analyses of entrepreneurial identities and experiences are scarce (Ahl, 2006; Welter et al., 2016). A deeper reflection on the context in which entrepreneurial identity processes and experiences unfold (Gill and Larson, 2014) can shed new light on the often taken-for-granted assumptions on the entrepreneurial identities and experiences of women entrepreneurs (Ahl, 2006).

In this article, we study the entrepreneurial identity constructions and experiences of women entrepreneurs in Turkey. The non-Western and developing country context of Turkey extends our knowledge of contextualized entrepreneurship, by offering a more complete understanding of entrepreneurial experiences and identities, as the entrepreneurship literature 'is Western-centric and geographically biased in favour of developed economies' (Tlaiss, 2019, p. 227). Turkey is a compelling national context in which multiple and contradictory social structures regarding gender, ethnicity, class, religion, politics, culture, and society exist and intersect. We conceptualize these structures as opportunity structures that shape the identities and experiences of women entrepreneurs. Examining Turkey as a context yields specific insights for the entrepreneurship literature. First, the developing economy of Turkey has close economic and political relations both with the euro zone and with its neighbours in the Middle East. As a secular country with a history of non-western Islamic tradition, Turkey provides us knowledge, which falls outside the mainstream Western theorisations on entrepreneurship (Yamak et al., 2015). Turkey's societal milieu is mixed with several ethnicities. Ethnicity is currently under public debate with the inflow of migrants and refugees (from countries such as Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan) as a result of Turkey's geopolitics. This highlights the importance of contextual analysis on identity construction.

Second, there are two competing discourses on gender in Turkey, the secular and Islamic discourse (Özkazanç-Pan, 2015). Historically these discourses are constructed as mutually exclusive with different representations of Turkish women, however both discourses resonate patriarchy, and they have a restrictive view on appropriate versions of femininity (Bilgin, 2004, p. 24). Originating from and contributing to a common cultural rhetoric, they both privilege masculinity over femininity. Historically, gender, religion and class intersect in the secular political discourse, which considers Islamic women lower-class citizens. Following the rise of the Islamic political discourse after 1980s, the associations between class and the gendered representations of piety or the visibility of religion in the public sphere (especially through the headscarf) have been challenged. Islamic women have achieved upward social mobility through their ability to access Western styles of education, living, and spending (Kandemir-Hazir, 2017). Subsequently, they became more visible in public, politics, and business - both in corporations and entrepreneurial ventures. Thus, the political discourses on gender and the associated gendered class discussions in Turkey shed new light on entrepreneurship.

Third, Turkey's politics, which has both neo-liberal and neo-conservative elements (Acar and Altunok, 2013), influences the societal and economic positions of women. Women entrepreneurship is being promoted under neo-liberal tenets to increase the economic participation of women, and also by neo-conservatives because entrepreneurship enables flexible working hours that allow women to take care of the kids and the household, and improve their financial position at the same time (Toksöz, 2011; Acar and Altunok, 2013).

This article aims to better understand the experiences and identities of women entrepreneurs in relation to opportunity structures in Turkey, as a complex environment with many contradictory norms, values and expectations. We define 'opportunity structure' as 'situational opportunities and constraints' (Johns, 2006) in social, political, and institutional circumstances (Koopmans and Statham, 2000; Hooghe, 2005). The relationship between these opportunity structures and identity construction processes and women's experiences provides us insights on how women entrepreneurs deal with power relations in various settings, and how they rework their identities when the conditions of their environment change. Therefore, the research question is: '*How do women entrepreneurs of Turkish origin construct their entrepreneurial identities and experience their entrepreneurship relating to gender, ethnicity, and class in response to the opportunity structures in Turkey?*' Drawing on eleven life-story interviews with women entrepreneurs operating in Turkey, this study contributes to the entrepreneurship literature by analysing entrepreneurial identities and experiences in context.

We apply an 'intersectional approach' (Crenshaw, 1997) to understand the relationships between gender, ethnicity, class, entrepreneurship, religion, politics, society, institutions, and culture (Holvino, 2010). While the intersection of multiple identities has been studied

particularly within gender studies (Walby et al., 2012), and in studies on entrepreneurial identities (Essers and Benschop, 2009), the link with opportunity structures in small business research has not been elaborated (Carter et al., 2015). Nevertheless, the benefits of using intersectionality are evident since understanding entrepreneurial identity necessitates understanding the simultaneity of multiple social identity categories (Holvino, 2010), which are influenced by political, spatial, economic and cultural contexts. Intersectionality provides the conceptual depth to come to a better understanding of how the identities of the entrepreneurs come about in their contexts.

In the rest of this article, we first discuss the entrepreneurial identity construction processes and experiences in context and elaborate context-specific opportunity structures. Then, we contextualize gender, ethnicity, and class in Turkey as the backdrop for the relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences. Then, we present the qualitative methodology, followed by the findings section that elaborates on the context-specific nature of the processes of identity construction and experiences of women entrepreneurs in Turkey. Finally, we discuss contributions and conclusions on women's entrepreneurial identity construction and entrepreneurial experiences in context.

Contextualisation of entrepreneurial identity and experiences

In general, context refers to an individual's surrounding environment (van Gelderen et al., 2012). In the field of entrepreneurship, context has been studied from a dynamic perspective, which points to the fact that entrepreneurship changes in time and space and co-evolves with the entrepreneur and the entrepreneurial venture (van Gelderen et al., 2012). Contexts can be social, cultural, historical, political, institutional, ethnic, gendered or class-related (Villares-Varela and Essers, 2019). Contexts are interrelated and various contexts may influence the entrepreneurial experiences and identity constructions simultaneously (Steyaert and Katz, 2004). Taking the abovementioned understandings of context into account, we have a broader perspective on context than most entrepreneurship studies, which focus on context as a 'variable' or a 'background' (Welter, 2011). We view context as the complex set of power relations, discursive practices and also material resources that shape entrepreneurs' experiences and identities.

Considering context is important to gain a better understanding of entrepreneurial identities and experiences (Welter, 2011), since entrepreneurial identities are shaped in, by, and through their surrounding contexts. However, contexts are often highly internalized or considered as a given, not as a factor that can be changed (Ahl, 2006, p. 605). Even if they are recognized, the multiplicity of contexts does not receive enough

attention in entrepreneurship research (Welter, 2011), and unfamiliar contexts stay latent or hidden in entrepreneurial thinking (Ahonen et al., 2014). An excellent example of such an unfamiliar and still unexplored context is Turkey; a non-Western context with multiple and contradictory social structures that provides a fruitful ground for analysing identity and experiences in context.

To date, in the research on women entrepreneurship, the discussions on the interaction between the identities and the context cluster around the fields of social norms, family, and culture (Essers and Benschop, 2007, 2009; Bruni et al., 2004; Duberley and Carrigan, 2013; Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2010). There are very few studies discussing the influences of macro-level contexts such as politics, media, institutional rules and regulations, cultural norms and practices, and societal dynamics simultaneously on the identity constructions of women entrepreneurs (Azmat, 2013; Lewis, 2013; Jamali, 2009). However, how women experience themselves as entrepreneurs and construct their identities is highly influenced by these macro-level multiple contexts (Steyaert and Katz, 2004).

To better understand entrepreneurial identity formation and experiences in context, this study explores the opportunity structures in Turkey in relation to women entrepreneurs' experiences and identity construction processes. We focus on the processes by which entrepreneurial identities are constructed, negotiated and reflected. We perceive identity as 'the internalized and evolving story that results from a person's selective appropriation of past, present and future' (McAdams, 1997, p. 71). Thus, we have a process-oriented view of identity (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003), which is temporally and contextually constrained by various opportunity structures (Sarason et al., 2006). While opportunity structures influence 'who we are'; the relevance and perception of these opportunity structures change according to the entrepreneurs' construction of gender, ethnicity and class. Gender, ethnicity and class are social identity categories, which are historically formed and socially constructed based on the practices of masculinity and femininity (Connell and Connell, 2005), group belongingness (Anthias, 2001a), and hierarchical status (Acker, 2000) respectively.

We distinguish three opportunity structures – social, political and institutional – that influence identity construction processes and entrepreneurial experiences of women entrepreneurs in Turkey. The first opportunity structure is the social opportunity structure consisting of social, cultural and religious norms, practices, and resources regarding gender and family and business relations (Karatas-Özkan et al., 2010; Ufuk and Özgen, 2001). This social opportunity structure also forms the dominant societal discourse depicting working women as modern and emancipated yet responsible for taking care of the kids and the home with patriarchal precedents (Nayir, 2008). As a result of the patriarchal nature of society (Kandiyoti, 2005), women entrepreneurship is viewed as necessity-driven, low scale, and with little credibility (Özar, 2007; Karatas-Özkan et al.,

2010) in line with a gendered perspective of women 'in need of help' (Arat, 2010). The second is the political opportunity structure with contradictory political discourses on gender and women entrepreneurship, the historical secular political discourse and the Islamic political discourse, in which the latter has turned into the neo-conservative politics energized with the neo-liberal economic policies (Kandemir-Hazir, 2014). Secular and Islamic political discourses include normative ideas on appropriate versions of femininity and masculinity that restrict how women entrepreneurs can and cannot go about their business. These contradictory political discourses lead to a polarized and fragmented society along religious, secular and ethnic lines (Keyman, 2014) that influences gender relations and representations, including various views on the headscarf (Kavakci-Islam, 2010). Within the political opportunity structure, neo-liberal politics support women entrepreneurship with an emphasis on the benefits of earning (some) money to foster women's empowerment, social change, and economic development (Sathiabama, 2010, Rindova, Barry, and Ketchen, 2009; Calás et al., 2009). In addition, neo-conservative politics argue women should engage in childcare and household chores (Acar and Altunok, 2013; Toksöz, 2011). The third is the institutional opportunity structure with the regulations on (women) business development such as tax incentives and funding opportunities and on business relations such as international and domestic business networks, including the short-term orientation of these regulations and related regulatory changes in specific sectors. Women entrepreneurs are offered credits only for women such as 'Women in business' credits financed by International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) or by Global Banking Alliance for Women (GBA). They also benefit from income tax exemption up to a certain amount for goods produced at home such as traditional arts and crafts. Additionally, they receive higher rates of funding from public institutions such as SME Development Organisation (KOSGEB, 2014) than male entrepreneurs receive or pay lower commission rates for the guarantee fund provided by the Undersecretary of Treasury for the bank credit provided by Turkish Economy Bank (TEB, 2014).

The context of Turkey

In Turkey there are 51 ethnic groups, some of which are Kurds, Arabs, Persians, Armenians, Circassians, Jews, and Assyrians (Andrews, 1989). Among these, the Kurdish ethnicity has been framed as a Kurdish question with a historical ethnicisation process. In academic and political debates on the rights of Kurdish people, a conservative nationalist approach with more security-oriented measures coexists alongside a liberal approach that focuses on political reform and democratisation (Saracoglu, 2009). Some of the researchers focusing on ethnic and racial studies in Turkey no longer talk about the Kurdish question as a problem between the state and the Kurds but instead as a perception of the

'primary Other' to the Turkish nation (Yegen, 2006; Bora, 2006). Officially, non-Muslims such as Armenians, Greeks or Jews are considered as ethnic minorities, not part of the 'Turkish nation' (Yegen, 2006). The presence of these ethnic minorities is recognized and sustained with separate schools and places of worship. Kurdish ethnicity, on the other hand, is not seen as a separate ethnicity and not excluded on a racial basis; but included within the larger Turkish ethnicity. However, on a societal level, Kurdish people face an anti-Kurdish 'exclusive recognition' and are represented as 'backwards' in the sense of lower education levels and an inability to internalize the basic rules of good manners and city life (Saracoglu, 2009, p. 645).

Neo-liberal and neo-conservative political tendencies influence Turkey's class structure. The modern Turkish Republic was founded with the tradition of state recruited elites in the civil service, army, and politics (Özcan and Turunç, 2011). Starting from the 1980s, Turkey has gone through a transition into liberalism. While the Turkish bourgeoisie succeeded in controlling the overall orientation of economic policies, the middle class expanded (Yıldırım, 2011). In the 1990s, entrepreneurship was highly promoted especially in some selected Anatolian cities such as Denizli, Gaziantep, and Kayseri. Many small-scale family enterprises emerged, which were called 'the Anatolian tigers' (Özcan and Turunç, 2011). Religious groups such as the Gulen movement (recently described as a terrorist group by the Turkish government), and Nakshibendi and Suleymanci brotherhoods strongly promoted these business ventures and helped to the advent of Islamic bourgeoisie (Cizre-Sakallioglu and Yeldan, 2000). This new capitalist class energized with Islamic values undermined the state elite and played a significant role in new political formations and the succession of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) in 2002. After the political stability has been achieved for almost 18 years, the pursuit of neo-liberal policies with a veneer of Islamic morals has been contracted with the influence of neo-conservative politics. A discourse of victim-victor dichotomisation depicting pious Muslims as 'backward' in the 1990s (Özcan and Turunç, 2011) has resulted in a political payback that has given birth to a new group of Islamic elites with explicit Islamic dispositions.

The discussions on politics, class, modernity, secularism, and Islamism in Turkey have a long history in a gender-specific format. Women are used as an apparatus in the transformations of societies, ideologies, and policies (Göle, 2003). The political contention and societal polarisation between Islamists and secular Republicans have rested on the conflict between an Islamic-Turkish identity and secular Western modernity (Göl, 2009) that is exemplified by the physical appearance, public visibility, and economic participation of women. Starting from the foundation of Turkey in 1923, Kemalist reforms 'pinpointed women as the touchstone of the new nation' (Bilgin, 2004, p. 21) to achieve modernity and Westernisation. This modernisation project took a different form in Turkey as a non-Western context since it was driven with a political will to Westernize cultural

codes, life-styles, and gender identities (Göle, 2011; Bilgin, 2004). The new Republican regime attacked segregation of sexes and accomplished secularisation in public spheres. It also diffused into the private sphere through the secularisation of the family law (Zürcher, 2001) and the presentation of an image of ideal Kemalist women as an asexual sister-in-arms (Bilgin, 2004, p. 22). Starting from the 1980s, the Islamic movement moved from the periphery to the centre of the Republic and engaged in a cultural transformation in the form of counter-modernity. It benefitted from both Islamic rhetoric and neo-liberal economic impetus (Kandemir-Hazir, 2014, 2017). The neo-conservative Islamists energized by neo-liberal economic policies opposed to the state-imposed form of secular modernity and created alternative modernities (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2005). They positioned themselves 'in-between' secular institutions (such as education, banks, and private companies) and Islamic norms and practices (Bilgin, 2004). With the liberal interpretations of Islam, this new form of modernity accepted Western living and spending. The 'veil' was aestheticized with stylish fabrics but was, nevertheless, highly politicized and became the symbol of this alternative modernity (Sandikci and Ger, 2009). Adapting to the secular structure of Turkey's economy (Mumyakmaz, 2014), the new form of modernity has led to new behavioural codes and new consumption patterns (Göle, 2011, p. 174) that are most visible through women. Women were the primary conveyors of the lifestyle that was promoted politically during the period of the young Turkish Republic with the image of unveiled women, women in athletic competitions, women professionals, and women visible in public with men (Göle, 1997). Now, the image of veiled women prevails and they are seen in stylish clothing and are highly visible in social media in expensive summer resorts, as well as on holidays abroad, and as veiled journalists, writers, fashion designers, politicians and academics (Kavakci-Islam, 2010; Kandemir-Hazir, 2014). Thus, we recognize a new articulation of Islam and modernity, which also rises on the shoulders of women (Göle, 2012).

Present day Turkey can be characterized as a post-secular era with the resurgence of Islamic beliefs and practices. Considering femininity with traditional feminine virtues such as sensitivity, fragility, and dressing up (Iida, 2005) with high heels, make-up, and fashion (Harris, 2004), the Islamic discourse defines women in relation to men through certain gender roles. These include roles such as mothers, wives, and sisters and women are urged to behave according to norms including modest clothing and behaviour in business and public (Sandikci and Ger, 2009). Conversely, the post-Kemalist secular discourse praises masculine connotations of power, freedom, strength and work for women. Women are defined with a strong reference to their work and careers and they are obliged to abide by certain behavioural norms such as 'being free', 'not staying at home', 'not giving up', and 'being strong'. The woman image resembles the 'wonder woman' character capable and willing to do whatever she wants. Turkish media has portrayed this image of Turkish women with the 'Free Girl-Nil Karaibrahimgil' (Dincer-Durmus, 2006).

Both discourses stimulate working women and women entrepreneurs with a difference in nuance. Islamic discourse tones down women at work with flexible working hours or conventional feminine businesses holding women responsible for taking care of their kids and the household. The secular discourse entitles women to work as hard as men and still considers women responsible for taking care of their kids and the household. Each political discourse restricts the femininities that can be appropriately displayed in the workplace, yet the proper forms of femininity differ in each discourse. Both require modest behaviour as the norm in business; however, the first discourse enforces modesty through the headscarf and modest clothing, the second through asexual business-like clothing.

The next section presents the details of the qualitative research design.

Methodology

This study follows an interpretive research methodology (Gephart, 2004) to explore the identity construction processes and experiences of women entrepreneurs in Turkey. Interpretive research is a qualitative way of searching for common frames of reference or construed realities to lead the understanding of a phenomenon (Jamali, 2009), or in this case to help account for how the women in this study perceive, interpret, and frame realities around them to construct their reality as Turkish women entrepreneurs. Qualitative inquiry requires a relatively small sample size compared to quantitative inquiry methods (Patton, 2002). Purposeful sampling is a method of qualitative inquiry directed at presenting information-rich cases to learn a great deal about the topic under discussion through an in-depth analysis (Patton, 2002, p. 230). Accordingly, this research used purposeful sampling, selecting eleven experienced women entrepreneurs in Turkey.

In the selection process, we chose five different cities (Kayseri, Istanbul, Yalova, Kocaeli, and Gaziantep, see Appendix.4) for their entrepreneurship potential according to the regional entrepreneurship potential report (Karadeniz, 2015). The level of entrepreneurship potential might impact the opportunity structures in that city regarding women entrepreneurship in many ways (e.g., government incentives or socio-cultural norms regarding women in business). We first approached trade unions and chambers of industry to purposefully select women entrepreneurs from sectors including traditionally masculine industries such as chemicals, machinery, and high-tech. We aimed to ensure that interviewees have experienced the influences of the opportunity structures and had been an entrepreneur for a sufficient amount of time. Thus, we searched for women entrepreneurs with Turkish ancestry that were actively involved in the day-to-day business operations for a minimum of three years, and had lived at least half of their lives in Turkey. Five out of the ten female entrepreneurs that were reached out

to after the initial search through these organisations accepted being interviewed. The use of these organisations as a selection tool helped to reach women manufacturers in unconventional sectors. For the rest of the interviewees, we used the personal network of the first author, who has also Turkish ancestry and connections in Turkey, because Turkish women, especially in the Anatolian cities such as Kayseri and Gaziantep are known to be hesitant to reveal their life stories to a foreigner, especially when it is digitally recorded. This contact provided women entrepreneurs mostly from the service and retail industries. In addition, we purposefully selected one women entrepreneur with Kurdish ancestry and one with Armenian origins to be able to study the ethnicity aspect. The selection ended up with a sample size of 11 women entrepreneurs ensuring that we obtained a certain level of variety and sufficient data to study entrepreneurial identity constructions and the experiences of women in Turkey concerning gender, ethnicity, and class (Malterud et al., 2016). The women in this study were drawn from various sectors (science and technology, manufacturing, retail and service), age groups (27 to 72 years), and marital status (married with children/grandchildren, married with no child, single or widow, see Appendix.4). All of the interviews were conducted in Turkish and were digitally recorded and literally transcribed.

The historical dimension of the opportunity structures and the processual nature of the identity construction led to choose for life-stories as our method of data collection (Ghorashi, 2008). The life-story method enabled to understand how individuals express their self-identities. This is achieved as the respondents make sense of historical, current and future perceptions of macro-structures to construct their identities. Narratives are co-constructed with the interviewees and the interviewer (Essers, 2009a). Thus, we concede that the Turkish background, gender identity, professional affiliation and the visibility of the headscarf of the interviewer might have influenced the narrative construction. For instance, coming from a similar background and having experienced similar opportunity structures might have created more open discussions regarding sensitive topics, and eased the process for the interviewer to reflect on the structural influences and contextual dynamics. However, given the societal and political discourses in Turkey, the interviewees might have placed the veiled interviewer in a religio-political position and led them to be more/less political and careful about the topics discussed. Having discussions with the collaborating authors, who are experienced in women ethnic minority entrepreneurship helped to increase the reflexivity and the meticulousness of the study.

To analyse the data, first, we read all life-story transcripts (McAdams, 2012). Through deductive coding (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006) we used the three opportunity structures as filters and selected the parts of the narratives where women entrepreneurs talked about these opportunity structures. In this phase of the analysis, we identified how the opportunity structures emerged in the stories. We noticed that social opportunity structure was influential in the form of traditional gender roles embedded in patriarchal

practices. Ten out of eleven women participants had the primary responsibility for their kids and home. Even when their duties were delegated to third parties such as their moms, babysitters, or cleaners; they had to organize these tasks. Only one woman (Kadriye) had shared parental responsibility with her husband. The political opportunity structure was at the heart of all interviews. Although the women tried to refrain from addressing political issues directly, they all mentioned political discourses in their narratives. Secular and Islamic political discourses on gender were discussed in relation to appropriate forms of femininity at work such as business relations of women entrepreneurs with males and the way women should dress at work properly. The institutional opportunity structure was discussed through references to a changing regulatory environment and the financial support provided for women entrepreneurs. Women entrepreneurs mentioned the ways they fund their enterprises and the regulatory environment specifically in the cities they operate in.

Then, as a second step, through inductive coding (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006) we re-read the selected parts of the narratives and recognized certain patterns across opportunity structures. Patterns emerged related to how women entrepreneurs performed as women/mothers and entrepreneurs, with whom they mostly socialized as women entrepreneurs and to what extent they were involved in political discussions. Accordingly, we identified three common themes: perfectionism, distancing from politics and closed social positioning. Perfectionism refers to the impeccable constructions of multiple identities undertaken by these women entrepreneurs. They presented a perfect image of a woman, mother and an entrepreneur in charge and their narratives did not contain any references to entrepreneurial failure, insufficient care being given to their kids, or a lack of time. Distancing from politics refers to how the women were reluctant to engage in political discussions. Finally, closed social positioning indicates a kind of clustering in society as a result of the intersectional forces of politics, ethnicity, religion, and gender and how these are enacted in the entrepreneurship context. In the analysis we show how these three themes relate to the different opportunity structures.

We presented five of these stories out of 11. These five narratives were chosen based on the richness of the information that they provided on the overarching three themes through the analysis of 11 life stories. The narrative excerpts from these five life stories are most illustrative regarding the influence of opportunity structures on entrepreneurial identity constructions and experiences. By this way, we better presented various nuances among the identity constructions and experiences of women entrepreneurs while showing their perceptions and interpretations of the three opportunity structures.

The following section presents the entrepreneurial experiences and identity constructions of women entrepreneurs in Turkey.

The enactment of gender, ethnicity, class and entrepreneurship within the context of Turkey

In this section, we present the details of our empirical findings in three sub-sections corresponding to the aforementioned three processes. In each sub-section, we provide narrative excerpts of two women entrepreneurs interviewed. Each woman is influenced by all of the three opportunity structures discussed in the literature review. When presenting the processes, we analyze the most influential opportunity structures for each women entrepreneur with respect to this specific process.

First, we introduce the five women entrepreneurs, Ruya, Saadet, Melda, Karine, and Demet. We use pseudonyms for privacy reasons. Ruya (52) co-owns a leather manufacturing company with a male family friend in Istanbul. She also acts as a board member of several associations regarding the leather industry and women entrepreneurship. She has a Kurdish background, and she is married to a Jewish man and has two sons. Saadet (58) is a furniture manufacturer together with her husband in Kayseri. She has German nationality and a Turkish background. She is married to a Turkish man and has three children. Melda (41) owns an online forum for mothers together with her husband. She is Turkish, married to a Turkish man, has two children and lives in Yalova. Karine (29) owns a fashion boutique store designing women's evening dresses in Istanbul. She is Armenian-Turkish and married to an Armenian man. She does not have children. Demet (33) owns a jewellery store in Gaziantep. She is Turkish, married to a Turkish man and has three children.

Perfectionism

This section provides narrative excerpts from Ruya and Demet that reveal the process of perfection in their entrepreneurial identity constructions and experiences. Ruya quotes:

> I had my second son six years after the first one to raise each as a single child. Thirty days after their birth, I was in business, and in these 30 days, I was in communication with my company. But I am always with my kids after work or I don't go on holidays without them because I feel guilty. This doesn't mean that I am stuck at home with kids. I even take them to the hairdressers'. I have created a system for this. It is related to money. First, I worked, achieved a certain level of prosperity, and proved myself in the industry. I was in a position to have my personal driver and found the best nanny with wonderful references who took care of my kids like an aunt. (…) Business life is very important for women for self-development, self-confidence, independence, and for family relations. My husband is always proud of me, for instance. He and I support working women; we are modern, enlightened people. I am married to such a man! (…) Why do you care about where I was born? I don't like these discussions. It doesn't matter! I am a world citizen.

In her narrative, Ruya draws a perfect image of a successful women entrepreneur, a mother and an emancipated, modern, social woman. Building her understanding on the societal discourse on 'working woman' as modern and enlightened, she strongly advocates women at work. In addition, supporting women's struggle in Turkey with the image of low credibility and legitimacy at work (Ufuk and Özgen, 2001), Ruya, as a women entrepreneur in the traditionally masculine leather industry and with a secular understanding of gender formed through the opportunity structure of secular political discourse, constructs an entrepreneurial identity with masculine connotations of strength, endurance and hard work to gain legitimacy as a real entrepreneur. Before becoming a mother, she first needed to be successful enough to show her devotion and hard work as she quotes by 'proving herself in the industry'. Ruya mentions how she only took 30 days off for maternity leave. On the other hand, she feels guilty and takes every effort to take care of her kids even by taking them to the hairdressers'. In response to the social opportunity structure, the norms about women taking care of their children, Ruya consciously presents her babysitter not as a foreigner but as an aunt, since she does not want to be judged for not taking care of her children and leaving them with a babysitter. The childcare remains in the family with a female figure ('aunt') responding to the gendered norms of taking care of the children. Ruya constructs her entrepreneurial identity in a well-organized and planned manner in her effort to prove the compatibility of work/entrepreneurship and motherhood (Essers and Benschop, 2007). She constructs an upper-class entrepreneurial identity by achieving a certain level of prosperity, employing a personal driver and recruiting the 'best' nanny to entrust her children, which also implies fulfilment of her roles as a successful women entrepreneur and a mother simultaneously.

Ruya has a Kurdish background. She is a well-known successful women entrepreneur in Turkish media, although this is also because of her father, a Kurdish activist. In the interview Ruya did not mention her Kurdish background and even refused to express her place of birth. Some of the cities in Eastern Turkey have large Kurdish population and an insider can recognize whether a person has Kurdish ancestry based on their place of birth. Given that Kurdish ethnicity has a negative undertone (Yegen, 2006; Saracoglu, 2009), Ruya might not want to be known as Kurdish, because people with Kurdish ethnicity are seldom recognized as part of the upper-class because of the lack of educational, professional and financial credentials of the general Kurdish population. Through constructing a perfect entrepreneurial identity that intersects with gender and class, Ruya avoids the possibility of being exclusively recognized (Saracoglu, 2009) with respect to her Kurdish ethnicity and chooses to describe herself as a world citizen.

Similarly, Demet constructs her entrepreneurial identity in a perfectionist way. She does this by stating that she has a successful career along with a happy family life and that she has become a role model, despite her husband's dissatisfaction and the discomfort

she received from her social environment at the initial stage of her entrepreneurship. Her narrative contains a different example of the social opportunity structure on working women or women entrepreneurs that interacts with the Islamic political discourse:

> Before I became an entrepreneur, I was happily married with two kids. But I didn't want to help people with my husband's money, but [with] my own. Now I spend all my profits on the education of poor girls. I don't use even one [Turkish] lira for my personal expenses. At first, my husband did not want me to become an entrepreneur. For him, I did not need money; he was supporting me. It took him a while to understand my reason. There were rumors about me like I got divorced and needed money or I became the greedy woman, because both my father and my husband were rich. These kept me going. I knew that I would be very successful. Now I have a very nice business life. I have become a role model for a lot of people. (…) I always dreamed about this and saved some money for my idea. Also, at first, I was working from home, and benefitted from income tax exemption legislation for almost two years; then I opened up my shop in the city centre. I did it all by myself (…) If I am living in a Muslim country, then I want to feel it. Turkey has never had great days like these. We always support who is on the right track in politics. (…) My headscarf is my guardian. If I am coming late from work, people don't gossip about where I am coming from or people know how to behave. Because of my job, I go to different places and meet different people alone. But I have never experienced any improper behaviour. My husband is also happy; he knows how people will treat me.

Demet describes her motivation for entrepreneurship as 'helping girls with limited or a lack of income'. She complies with patriarchal cultural norms such as men being responsible for the livelihood of women, because otherwise, she might not have been able to become an entrepreneur or she might have had to stay in conflict with her husband and her social environment. For Demet, social norms prevail over her individual preferences. As she comes from a rich family and is married to a rich man, she is not expected to work for money. Therefore, Demet emphasizes on not spending any money for her personal expenses, implying that her husband is responsible for her livelihood, which means that she remains financially dependent on him. However, for her entrepreneurship, she has not received any financial support from her husband or social network. She has made use of the institutional resources provided by the tax authorities for the first two years while she was pursuing her entrepreneurship at home. Afterwards, she has used these earnings to open her store. This way she also reinforces a perfectionist construction of her entrepreneurial identity, being able to open a jewellery store in the city centre without any financial support.

Demet operates in an entrepreneurially-oriented East-Anatolian city, Gaziantep, wears a stylish veil and displays behavioural codes of a middle-class Islamic woman (Karademir-Hazir, 2014). She represents the alternative models of Turkish modernity with her Islamic self-identity constructed at the intersection of the liberal, Islamic and conservative articulations of culture and capital (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2005, p. 110). Demet perceives Turkey as a Muslim country and supports religious transformation of society and politics (Yamak et al., 2015). In line with the political opportunity structure provided by the Islamic discourse on gender, she perceives that being unveiled brings possibilities of improper behaviour from men and gossip about where she has been when she behaves outside the norms such as coming home late or travelling alone. With regards to the secular discourses on the headscarf being an instrument that oppresses women, Demet defends her headscarf by pointing to the various possibilities of freedom that it warrants. Her veil helps her to extend her business without being questioned or restricted by patriarchal forces and social, cultural and religious norms.

Distancing from politics

All the interviewed women were highly politicized, because Turkish society is highly polarized and fragmented along political ideologies, which influence the daily entrepreneurial operations and personal relations (Keyman, 2014). However, the way the interviewed women engage with politics is different from what is described by Göle (2013), particularly with the Gezi Park movement in Turkey. Göle (2013) has pictured street protests worldwide as a way of dealing with politics. Six years after her study, we recognize a process of distancing from politics among women entrepreneurs. Instead of showing direct opposition through solid actions or verbal expressions, distancing can denote alternative ways of nonconformity or disagreement against the policies or political inclination of the country.

Narrative excerpts from Ruya and Melda provide examples of this distancing process. Ruya quotes:

> We think that there is no need for such a positive discrimination (pointing at the headscarf of the interviewer). You have to be recognized for your ideas and thoughts not by means of facilities or benefits of such things. You don't deserve the attention you get because of your headscarf. I believe that in business it is respectable when you are not feminine, but asexual, in normal businesswoman format by expressing your know-how, expertise, and positioning yourself as you are. I think words, projects, ideas are more important than this (pointing at the headscarf again).

During the interview, Ruya stopped the recording and asked the interviewer why she was wearing a headscarf. Ruya has seen from the interviewer's CV that the interviewer graduated from a highly prestigious university and worked at an international company in Turkey. Ruya might have understood that the interviewer put on the headscarf after her professional career had ended in Turkey; otherwise, the interviewer could not have worked in the Turkish branch of that company with her headscarf. Ruya asked the interviewer if it has worth to 'ruin' her career by wearing a headscarf. Ruya thinks of this as career ruination, but she simultaneously states that veiled women are 'positively discriminated' against in the recent political situation in Turkey. The reason for her contradiction stems from her opposition to the religious transformation of society and politics (Yamak et al., 2015). However, instead of expressing a direct dissatisfaction about the neo-conservative political and societal inclination of the country, Ruya presents her disapproval and discomfort through discourses on the headscarf by targeting the veiled interviewer. Taking a reflexive point of view, Ruya seems to 'use' the interviewer to make her political statement indirectly. Related to the political opportunity structure provided by the secular and Islamic political discourses undermining the various forms of femininity of women (Bilgin, 2004), Ruya constructs her entrepreneurial identity as 'genderless'. This is displayed by her assertion that 'being non-feminine and asexual' should be the norms in business.

Ruya's rejection of the veil and the political ideology underneath it is also class-related. Ruya belongs to the secular Western business elite. She is highly recognisable in the media through her marriage with a successful businessman and her entrepreneurial success in the traditionally masculine leather industry. Considering the historicity of the class structure in Turkey and the recent class mobility of Islamists (Özcan and Turunç, 2011), Ruya's perception of the incompatibility of a veiled woman with a prestigious professional career or an entrepreneurial identity is related to the class contention between the secular Western intellectuals and the newly arising Islamic elites. The paradox of Turkey's role-model between secular Western modernists and conservative Islamic nationalists delineates her interpretation of secular modernity and her perception of veiled women as an 'Other' to 'modern' Turkish women (Kavakci-Islam, 2010). For Ruya, the historical grudge against threats to the secular modernity is ignited and reified into verbal constructs disapproving the headscarf. The way – and the tone – in which Ruya talks to the veiled interviewer shows her disrespect based on her perception that bodily style (clothing, language, posture, and manner) determines the respect and attention shown to women and that veiled women lack an embodied competence (Kandemir-Hazir, 2017, p. 425).

Melda, on the other hand, justifies her decision of not investing in her company by the risk averseness of her husband and herself and their lack of entrepreneurial experience. In addition, she is highly concerned about regulations in her industry and she acknowledges

that she cannot foresee the changes in this area, as we described by the institutional opportunity structure with short-term orientation of regulations and related regulatory changes. However, Melda simply distances herself from politics and political discussions:

> We want people to benefit from our website but my husband and I agreed on not investing in our company anymore since we don't see any future in it. We are not the children of entrepreneurs but civil servants. We were university grads working for big corporations who did not take risks. So, we don't go for earning big. (…) Now, people can directly go to the court and make your site suspended, before they needed to inform us first. So, you don't want them to go to court anymore, you just change the content instead without questioning, we don't have any leverage. (…) I do not want to be known with my company; but I am a mother, a woman, and this is an open forum especially for moms, my name is on it. But here in the tax office, they do not even recognize you as an entrepreneur dealing with the tech stuff, because you are a woman. I think that I even could not get government funding simply because of this belief.

Melda owns an online forum, where parents can ask questions and share experiences about raising a child. She came up with the idea when she had her first child and then decided to open her company with her husband. Melda expresses that they have not achieved even half of their objectives in the company road map; and yet they do not want to follow these strategies in the future. She states this is because they do not have enough entrepreneurial experience, their parents were not entrepreneurs, and they are not risk-takers. However, we also see in her narrative excerpt that she is very concerned about the prohibitions and restrictions on online sites and the change in the regulations, for instance, the removal of an unfavourable comment about a product, kindergarten/school, government institution or a private company relevant to parents and children. The stakeholders (government officials, company owners, manufacturers, principal of the schools) can directly go to the court and suspend their site. Melda thinks that she does not have any power to react to this regulation or to produce a counter-argument in court, so she prefers to distance herself and her company from these discussions.

As influenced by the institutional opportunity structure, Melda experiences an obscure regulatory environment and she enacts her entrepreneurial identity in conformity with what she can get from the institutional system, although it jeopardizes the future of her company. When her company cannot provide accurate information about a product or a school, it loses its core competence, because people visit her site to share knowledge. In addition, Melda does not want to be known by the public as the owner of her company, since she does not see any benefit from being a woman in technology with respect to her relations with public institutions in her city. Supporting the arguments of patriarchy (Kandiyoti, 2005) which details the social opportunity structure, Melda perceives that the

public institutions, such as the tax office or the local government bureau that provides funding for entrepreneurs, do not recognize her as an entrepreneur, because she is a woman engaging in technology. Therefore, Melda conforms to the patriarchal norms and does not even consider applying for a government fund. Her construction of a middle-class social status with her level of education, professional experience, and parents as civil servants fits how she positions herself in her social setting.

Closed social positioning

As we presented earlier, Turkish society is polarized between secularists and Islamists. Although, the polarized class structure between these two groups seems to be declining with the rise of an Islamic bourgeoisie, Turkey remains polarized and fragmented along secular, religious and ethnic lines as a result of the recent political situation (Keyman, 2014, p. 21). With respect to the increased polarisation in Turkish society, we recognize that women entrepreneurs participated in this study position themselves in closed social circles with respect to their religious affiliations, political tendencies or ethnicities while pursuing their entrepreneurship.

Below we present two narrative excerpts from Saadet and Karine.

Before the interview, we were not aware of the lawsuit against Saadet. During the interview, Saadet informed the interviewer that in 2016, after the military coup attempt, she was taken into custody and charged a lifetime penalty because of her alleged connections with the so-called Gulen movement that is formally defined as a terrorist organisation by the Turkish government. At the time of the interview, the court released Saadet pending a trial. Saadet quotes:

> I was taken into custody and now I am charged with a lifetime penalty. But I did not lose my reputation, because people in our industry were surprised when they heard me in connection with a religious community. If it was a communist or even an atheist organisation, they might not have been surprised that much. I think someone framed me because of my entrepreneurial success. I am not a manufacturer alone; I am active in women entrepreneurship associations and international women networks. As an entrepreneur, I am defending my country everywhere. (…) People always feel comfortable when talking to me. I do not attend meetings as a woman. It is seen in my clothing, no décolletage or miniskirts, no make-up. It is not related to religion, but, here [Kayseri] while doing business, you have to prove how religious or nationalist you are. My company is known through my name. Still, despite these accusations, I did not lose my clients, which were mostly from Europe. But of course, I couldn't attend fairs and receive new clients, because my passport is withheld. (…) After my custody, I bought an old cottage house and restored it. I only concentrated on the house, garden etc. I could not go out, not even for work. Being there helped me a lot psychologically.

As seen from her quote, to deny her alleged connection and protect her entrepreneurial prestige, Saadet wants to construct a non-religious entrepreneurial identity. She implicitly defines herself as a non-religious or even a non-believer referring to the perceptions of business people in her social and business network it being more likely that she was a communist or an atheist than a religious person. However, Saadet also thinks that it is necessary to show a bit of religiosity in a (neo-) conservative city like Kayseri. She does not wear a headscarf but the way in which she dresses with 'no décolletage or miniskirts and no make-up' helps her to build religiosity up to a level that makes her seen to be religious but not too religious due to her delicate situation regarding the lawsuit. Accordingly, in line with the political discourses that include a restrictive display of femininity at work, Saadet complies with the genderless or the asexual business norm and forms more comfortable business relations with men in a traditionally masculine business environment such as the manufacturing industry. She strongly expresses that she has neither lost her reputation nor clients/money because of her international clientele. However, she had to have a closed social circle due to the increased polarisation through the political opportunity structure provided with contradictory political discourses and the institutional opportunity structure including regulations regarding business relations in that case with respect to the Gulen followers on account of their terrorist actions. Saadet, therefore, had to restrict her operations within her existing international clientele, changed her social setting and moved to the countryside. People might have kept some distance from her, which required her to change her previous social environment and to position herself in a much closer setting. However, when asked about the reactions of people in her social and business environment, Saadet replies that she has not lost her reputation because people will not believe the accusations, as if she wants to convince herself that this should be the case.

Reflecting on the interview, Saadet might not have even brought up her being charged with a lifetime penalty, since the interviewer was not aware of this situation. However, she might have considered the interviewer as an audience (Essers, 2009a) and tried to convince her about her innocence since she strongly and repeatedly refused the accusations and cried several times. At the time of writing this article, we learned that Saadet's case was closed and she was found innocent.

Similarly, Karine constructs her entrepreneurial identity in a very closed social setting that she even describes as an aquarium:

> At university, I had two Muslim friends. When I opened up my store, I moved my house here as well [an Armenian neighbourhood in Istanbul]. We have church weddings, so I design special dresses for these weddings. My clients are mostly Armenian, Jewish or Assyrians because they have synagogues, churches. The dresses are special, the hats

> etc. There are always Armenians or other ethnic minorities around me. Before I moved out from my neighbourhood much more, but now my trips abroad outnumber my going-outs from this neighbourhood. This neighbourhood became like an aquarium for me. This is partly related to the social and political environment and also my husband's job. He goes abroad and I do not want to leave him alone. Since I have my own business, I can go with him, otherwise which company would have given me two months off?

Karine is an Armenian-Turkish with a Christian background. Her ethnicity is recognisable through her Armenian name, however not with her physical appearance. Karine looks very much alike an unveiled Turkish woman. She notes that she lives in a very closed circle. Having an ethnic minority position, Karine was always with other ethnic minorities. This influenced her choices regarding her schools, the place she lives, her socialisation as well as her entrepreneurial opportunity - designing clothes targeted at special events and gatherings of ethnic minorities. For Karine, the major exclusion and inclusion criterion is religion. She describes the majority of Turkish people as Muslims and she even talks about her Turkish friends as Muslims. She describes the Armenian neighbourhood she lives in as an aquarium for her, which fulfils all of her needs. While talking about the reasons why this is the case, she mentions the current political environment as highly polarized through religious and ethnic lines consistent with the political opportunity structure but she hesitates to talk more about it. Karine might have considered the veiled interviewer as a Muslim outsider, with whom she is not comfortable enough to discuss sensitive political issues, given the perceptions about the veil as a political artefact in Turkey (Göle, 2011). Her entrepreneurial identity is also very much related to traditional gender relations in the Armenian community. The social opportunity structure was highly evident in her narrative. As Turkish Armenians live in a small ethnic community in certain neighbourhoods, they are strongly tied to their cultural norms blended with patriarchal practices. Karine can close her store for two months in a row to catch up with her husband's schedule. Entrepreneurship, which is so narrowly connected with her closed community, provides the means for her to achieve this flexibility and conformity with patriarchal norms and practices, while providing a certain level of income (Toksöz, 2011).

Discussion

In this study, we have investigated the ways women entrepreneurs construct their entrepreneurial identities and experiences in a specific national context, Turkey. We have found that women entrepreneurs in Turkey carefully consider the opportunity structures around them and respond with a perfect image of an entrepreneur, distancing from politics, and positioning in a closed circle.

The three themes in this study illustrate how entrepreneurial identity constructions and experiences interplay with opportunity structures in a specific context and why they cannot be separated from these opportunity structures in which they unfold. The women respond to the 'place-based and locale-specific' discourses (Gill and Larson, 2014, p. 519; Kuhn, 2006; Gill, 2017b) rather than to the grand discourses or master narratives of entrepreneurship (Watson, 2009). For instance, they try to construct a perfect image of an entrepreneur not in relation to the international phenomenon of a superhero entrepreneur (Gill, 2011) but in relation to context-specific opportunity structures in Turkey, such as social, cultural and religious norms and practices on family and business relations (Karatas-Özkan et al., 2010), the masculine orientation of industries as manufacturing and technology (Montague, 2017), and the gendered perspective of women 'in need of help' (Arat, 2010) that espouse little credibility for women entrepreneurship.

The interviewed women try to identify with the category of the 'entrepreneur', yet the category itself is derived from the context of Turkey in which there are specific intersecting yet contradictory opportunity structures (Gill, 2017b; Welter, 2011). The contradiction arises both within and between opportunity structures, which results in contrasting experiences of women entrepreneurs in relation to gender, religion, politics, and entrepreneurship. For instance, Ruya tries not to engage in politics and conceals her perceptions with respect to government policies and politicians in relation to the political opportunity structure. On the other hand, she draws on secular gender representations and questions the headscarf, which is a politicized artefact in Turkey. In order words, she keeps her distance from politics, but engages in gender politics. Also, as a result of the institutional opportunity structure regulating business relations in the case of Gulen followers, Saadet constructs a non-religious entrepreneurial identity due to her alleged connections with the Gulen movement. At the same time, she organizes her business relations conforming to religious norms in the social opportunity structure intersecting with her being a woman by dressing herself modestly and being cautious in relations with men. These contradictions within and across opportunity structures lead women entrepreneurs to navigate cautiously or even engage in conflicting identity work in constructing their entrepreneurship.

In addition, we recognize contrasting entrepreneurial experiences between women entrepreneurs in Turkish society in response to these intersecting and contradictory opportunity structures, resulting in a highly polarized entrepreneurial atmosphere. Instruments such as the headscarf have controversial meanings and lead to contrasting entrepreneurial experiences. For instance, on the one hand, the headscarf is associated with oppression, backwardness and non-emancipatory practices by Ruya who constructs her entrepreneurial identity in relation to the secular discourse, on the other hand, it is associated with religiosity and practicality in a patriarchal environment by Demet who experiences her entrepreneurship in relation to the Islamic discourse. Then, being a

woman entrepreneur also gets a contentious meaning and representation within the national context. Most importantly, these gendered constructions indicate an ongoing conflict about appropriate gender representations in Turkish society resulting in discussions on who can be considered as a successful women entrepreneur and who cannot.

The three themes – perfectionism, distancing in politics, and closed social positioning – are also interrelated. The women entrepreneurs in our study construct their entrepreneurial identities within perfectionism, living in closed social circles and trying to disassociate themselves from politics and political discussions. Considering these themes together allow to make more sense about women entrepreneurship in the context of Turkey. Women perceive that there is no room for mistakes as mothers/women and as entrepreneurs in society and at work. They seem to perceive it risky or even detrimental to their entrepreneurship to become politically involved and take sides in politics. They refrain from close relationships with people from different political views, religious affiliations and ideologies. Thus, we consider the structural environment in Turkey highly political and polarized, since different groups or people with different ideologies are persistent with the belief in the superiority of their own opinions and prejudiced of the opinions of others. Women entrepreneurs in such a structural setting use their agency to outperform, and to dispose certain risks associated with being a woman/mother and an entrepreneur.

We discuss these findings based on our analysis on a national level, since we consider the context of Turkey as a national context without detailing too much into the opportunity structures on a regional or a neighbourhood level (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001; Kloosterman, 2010). There are some regional differences regarding the social, cultural, and religious practices, (local) government policies, or perspectives of local authorities towards women entrepreneurs. We have not included this level of analysis in this current study, which limits its scope, but leads to future research ideas to study contextual influences on entrepreneurial identities and experiences on a regional or even neighbourhood level.

Conclusion

This study has responded to the under-theorization of context (Welter, 2011; Tlaiss, 2019) and the dominance of Western thinking and context in the prevailing entrepreneurship discourse (Ahl, 2006; Essers and Benschop, 2007; Musson and Duberley, 2007). We have contextualized entrepreneurial identity and experience in Turkey, a non-Western developing country, showing how multiple and contradictory opportunity structures shape gender representations and gendered practices in entrepreneurship.

The contributions of this study are two-fold. First, responding to the call for a contextualized understanding of entrepreneurship (Yousafzai et al., 2019), this study has contributed to the field of women entrepreneurship by analysing how contextual variety plays out in Turkey that brings different opportunity structures and multiple contradictions to entrepreneurial identities and experiences. Taking an intersectional stance and considering the historicity and multiplicity of opportunity structures in Turkey, we move beyond the mainstream analyses as well as explanations that are based on grand entrepreneurship discourses, and we show how women entrepreneurs in Turkey respond to the demographics, politics, economics, and social and cultural dynamics in the country. Women entrepreneurs in this particular non-Western context face a polarized and political environment with multiple and contradictory opportunity structures and hence construct their identities which often conflict due to these opportunity structures on individual and societal levels. Hence, we contend that this study reveals dismantling views, meanings, and understanding about such a concept as 'the entrepreneur' in a single country context and adds to the various facets of doing entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial diversity (Welter et al., 2016).

Second, this study has challenged the Western theorizations on entrepreneurship through the ways women entrepreneurs construct their identities and experience being entrepreneurs. Characterized by the Western male normativity (Ahl, 2006; Calás et al., 2009), Western thinking evaluates entrepreneurs as 'unitary, coherent, and autonomous' (Collinson, 2003) and presents them in an effort to achieve this Western entrepreneurial ideology (Musson and Duberley, 2007). In contrast, the women in this study present more complicated entrepreneurial identities and experiences. Specific to the dynamics of Turkish society in this particular time in history, the women entrepreneurs in Turkey face conflicting situations and have to navigate across the social, political and institutional opportunity structures. Their entrepreneurial experiences become far less coherent which implies these women entrepreneurs have to balance influences of these conflicting structures. They are constrained by these opportunity structures and pulled towards various directions making the process of entrepreneurial identity construction a multidimensional, non-linear process. Social, political and institutional opportunity structures intermingled with culture, religion, and demographics intersectionally force women entrepreneurs in Turkey to stay in closed social circles. Yet, they have to pursue their entrepreneurship, which is a social endeavour requiring human contact and interaction with the social environment. Also, they need to legitimize their entrepreneurship, and protect it both socially and politically. They enact their entrepreneurship in relation to these multiple structures in their own ways, providing individual variety at the micro level with several intersectional constructions of gender, ethnicity, and class in entrepreneurship, thus challenging the unitary conception of entrepreneurial identity at the macro level. In conclusion, this empirical study shows

various presentations of entrepreneurial identities and experiences of Turkish women entrepreneurs and challenges the normative description of entrepreneurial identity as unitary, coherent, and autonomous. It contributes to our academic knowledge by showing that identity work and entrepreneurial experiences in context are more complex, multidimensional, and interdependent.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Aim of the research

The aim of this dissertation was to explore and contextualise the opportunity structures for Turkish women entrepreneurs, looking at the relationship between opportunity structures and the entrepreneurial identities and experiences of these entrepreneurs in the Netherlands and Turkey. Thus, this dissertation has provided a contextual understanding of opportunity structures on the one hand, and entrepreneurial identities and experiences on the other, and examines how both of these interact with social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class.

To date, the macro influences of politics, regulations, the media, and societal norms and practices, which are conceptualized as opportunity structures referring to 'situational constraints and opportunities' (Johns, 2006), have been considered in the academic discourse as objective edifices that stand 'out there' (Mole and Mole, 2010; Ahl, 2006). However, entrepreneurs may interpret these opportunity structures differently according to their perceptions of various intersections of gender, ethnicity, and class and, in relation to these interpretations, they construct their entrepreneurial identities and experience their entrepreneurship (Sarason et al., 2006; Lewis, 2013). Having a dynamic relationship perspective between entrepreneurial identities and opportunity structures has helped to focus on the processes of identity construction and gain a better understanding of entrepreneurial identities and experiences in different contexts. In this dissertation, I define context as a complex set of power relations, discursive practices, and material resources that shape opportunity structures and the entrepreneurial experiences and identities of Turkish women entrepreneurs (Ahonen et al., 2014).

The main research question in this dissertation was: *How do Turkish women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands and Turkey experience being entrepreneurs, and construct their entrepreneurial identities, while responding to the opportunity structures in these two different contexts?*

Chapter 2 discussed opportunity structures in interaction with social categories of gender, ethnicity, and class to provide a better understanding of opportunity structures for Turkish women entrepreneurs in two national contexts, the Netherlands and Turkey. Then, two chapters of this dissertation were dedicated to addressing the main research question in each context respectively, the first in the Netherlands and the second in Turkey. In this final chapter, I will provide an answer to this main research question and underline the insights each chapter provides separately, and then together. I will also specify the theoretical contributions of this dissertation to the literature on migrant and women entrepreneurship and to entrepreneurship theory. Finally, I will provide some reflections on the research methodology and finish the chapter discussing the limitations of the study and possible areas for future research.

Answering the research question

To answer the main research question, this section provides the concluding remarks on three empirical studies – Chapters 2, 3, and 4 – as well as the contextual comparison of the relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences.

Opportunity structures interacting with social categories in the Netherlands and Turkey

In Chapter 2, I questioned the major theoretical perspectives on opportunity structures, such as entrepreneurship theory and the mixed embeddedness and interactionist approaches, which present opportunity structures as sets of objective rules and regulations that apply in the same manner for everyone (Archer, 1995; Mole and Mole, 2010, Kloosterman, 2010). These perspectives overlook the interaction of opportunity structures with social categories. Moreover, they present a static, objective, and homogeneous view of opportunity structures (Tseng, 2004; Mole and Mole, 2010; Kloosterman, 2010).

By detailing the layers and nuances of opportunity structures, the analysis has shown that opportunity structures are actually 'in the making', meaning that they are dynamic and emergent. Opportunity structures do not stand 'out there' as clearly and objectively defined and observed entities that influence all entrepreneurs in the same manner (Sarason et al., 2006; Shane and Venkataraman, 2000). Even when opportunity structures are written as sets of objective rules and regulations, rather they are discursive, referring to the discourses beyond texts and leading to a consideration of what might be applicable or reachable for whom (McCammon, 2013; Schmidt, 2008). Policy makers, public officials, and the executors and representatives of organisations interpret these opportunity structures based on the discourses that evolve around the intersections of gender, ethnicity, and class. Thus, opportunity structures influence entrepreneurs through the involvement of institutional agents who influence the processes of formation, execution, and communication of the opportunity structures.

The analysis has demonstrated that the interaction of opportunity structures with social categories results in various configurations of opportunity structures. First, some of the opportunity structures are introduced specifically for groups of people with certain gender, ethnicity, and class; for instance, the bank loans specifically provided for higher-class Turkish women entrepreneurs in Turkey. Second, opportunity structures are also utilised by a certain group of people, such as the House of Entrepreneurs in the Netherlands that has been used mostly by migrant entrepreneurs, although it was not targeted at them alone. Third, interpretations of institutional agents can also influence the execution and communication processes of opportunity structures. For instance, the representative of a

Dutch SME organisation in the Netherlands was unwilling to provide institutional resources to Turkish women entrepreneurs, based on the biases against these women entrepreneurs, assuming them to be non-modern, and the idea of a cultural mismatch between Turkish migrant women and the entrepreneurial context in the Netherlands.

By showing how opportunity structures interact with social categories through various processes such as design and formation, utilisation, communication and execution, this study has detailed the layers and nuances of opportunity structures and highlighted their emergent character. Thus, this study has contributed to the literature on migrant and women entrepreneurship by providing a more layered and nuanced view on opportunity structures. This new view has highlighted the discursive nature of opportunity structures and opened more room for a holistic observation of opportunity structures in different contexts. These new insights into the working of opportunity structures have opened new avenues to discuss issues such as inclusion and equality regarding social, political, and institutional opportunity structures.

With the help of this layered and nuanced view on opportunity structures, we can determine whether the opportunity structures in a particular context are inclusive for the whole society. For instance, many opportunity structures in Turkey and the Netherlands actually limit Turkish women entrepreneurs even when they support them in their entrepreneurial activities. Turkish women entrepreneurs mostly network via women-only sub-divisions of business federations in Turkey or ethnic minority business associations in the Netherlands. However, these organisations also limit these women in their networking because they have limited access to contacts due to stereotypes about Turkish women in both societies. As long as these limited network possibilities exist alongside stereotypical perceptions in society at large, women entrepreneurs are likely to be confined to these organisations and might find it difficult to extend their networks.

The interplay between identity construction and opportunity structures: Narratives of Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands

In Chapter 3, the aim was to explore the ways in which Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs construct their identities and experience being entrepreneurs in relation to social, political and institutional opportunity structures in the Netherlands. The experiences of these women entrepreneurs were analysed by studying their identity construction efforts in relation to various opportunity structures. This study theorised the relationship between identity construction and opportunity structures as being much more intricate than acknowledged by previous studies. Earlier studies typically outlined a one-way relationship between entrepreneurial identities and structures in their analysis of entrepreneurial identities under the influence of social, cultural, ethnic or political environments (Bruni et al, 2004; Al-Dajani and Marlow, 2013; Essers and Benschop, 2007). Alternatively, I proposed

a dynamic relationship by which entrepreneurs at various intersections of social categories interpret opportunity structures, and in relation to these interpretations, they construct their entrepreneurial identities and experience their entrepreneurship. Thus, this study incorporates various intersections of gender, ethnicity, and class into the framings and interpretations of opportunity structures and contextualises the relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences with the stories of Turkish women entrepreneurs operating in the Netherlands.

The three main processes that affect entrepreneurial identity construction and the experiences of Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands – politicisation, class-consciousness, and transnational and cosmopolitan positioning – detail the intricacy between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences. Reacting especially to the political and societal discourse on migrant women in the Netherlands, the women in this study tried to find ways out from the stereotypical image of Muslim migrant women. Each woman performed this in her own way. They were all politicised, class-conscious, and socially positioned in transnational and cosmopolitan ways, but the manners in which they experience and construct their entrepreneurial identities differed. For instance, Turkish women entrepreneurs all tended to be highly politicised due to the strong political discourse on Turkish (Muslim) migrant women in the Netherlands and recent political developments such as the rise of nationalist policies in Turkey. Yet their entrepreneurial constructions differed, depending on individual interpretations of politics, entrepreneurship, gender, ethnicity and class. Some of them constructed their entrepreneurial identities by explicitly taking a political stance, some by active involvement in politics, and others still by making political claims on the necessity of refraining from political discussions.

The interviewees were also highly class-conscious because of the discrepancy between their attributed social class as daughters of working-class guest workers, and their own perceptions about their social positions in Dutch society. They all wanted to distance themselves from this attributed social class position, yet the way they performed this differed. Regarding their interpretations of various opportunity structures, they either dissociated themselves from Turkish ethnic community cultural practices or expressed a different migration history, such as being a daughter of a Turkish teacher sent by the Turkish government rather than being a daughter of a guest worker. Some even used their ethnic connection with Turkey to elevate themselves to higher social positions, for instance by using discourses of modernity and Kemalism. Reflecting on this, it seems that these purposeful ethnic connections strengthened the political and social influence of Turkey on their socialisation and politicisation in the Netherlands.

Most women had transnational and cosmopolitan connections with Turkey as well as several other European countries and the US. Some of them engaged in transnational business connections by invoking their transnational resources, such as bicultural literacy

and networks. Some others had transnational links merely via sense of belongingness and emotional connectedness. Depending on individual interpretations of opportunity structures and the ethnic and religious affiliations of the entrepreneurs, they either defined themselves as foreigners, rather than Turkish migrants in the Dutch context, or stressed that they were not different from local Dutch people and tried to specify common grounds based on socially accepted Western norms and lifestyles.

This study, hence, has specifically illustrated how the intricate relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences works for Turkish women entrepreneurs operating in the Netherlands. Despite the similar processes of identity construction, the heterogeneity of their experiences displayed the differences in these women's interpretations of opportunity structures and provided a contextual understanding of the dynamic relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences. Thus, this study has contributed to the literature on migrant and women entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship by demonstrating the ways in which these women entrepreneurs interpret opportunity structures depending on their various intersections of gender, ethnicity, and class, and the manner in which they construct their entrepreneurial identities and experience being entrepreneurs in relation to these interpretations.

A contextual analysis of entrepreneurial identity and experience: Women entrepreneurs in Turkey

In Chapter 4, I looked into the processes of identity construction and the entrepreneurial experience in relation to opportunity structures in Turkey, as a non-Western country context. The aim was to uncover contextual influences on the relationship between the opportunity structures and the entrepreneurial identities and experiences of women entrepreneurs in Turkey. They have some ethnic commonalities with the women entrepreneurs of Turkish descent in the Netherlands, but they live and are active in a completely different country context. 'Entrepreneurship literature is Western-centric and geographically biased in favour of developed countries' (Tlaiss, 2019, p. 227). Turkey, in that sense, entails an interesting context. First, there are two competing discourses on gender – one secular and the other Islamic (Özkazanç-Pan, 2015) – with a history of patriarchal norms and practices (Bilgin, 2004); second, Turkey's geopolitical position leads to a mixed societal milieu with several ethnicities; and third, there are both neo-liberal and neo-conservative policy approaches towards women entrepreneurship (Acar and Altinok, 2013). This study foregrounded the discussions on modernization, secularism, headscarf politics, neo-liberal and neo-conservative policies, government regulations, cultural norms and practices, societal discourses, religion, and entrepreneurship.

The analysis identified three processes of identity construction: perfectionism, distancing from politics, and closed social positioning. The women entrepreneurs in this study were trying to construct a perfect image of a woman, mother, wife, manager, and entrepreneur all at the same time. They did so in relation to the dominant societal discourse on working women with patriarchal precedents as they are still held responsible for taking care of the children and the household. They also distanced their companies from politics due to the influence of recent political developments. This has led to a more polarized and fragmented society along secular, religious, and ethnic lines (Keyman, 2014). They stressed how politics stemming from religious positioning and affiliations can be detrimental for their companies. They distanced their enterprises from any explicit political positioning, yet they did position themselves in closed social circles as a result of the polarization. This meant that they tended to group along ethnic, religious, and political affiliations or propensities, which fortifies the polarized nature of society even more.

This empirical study displayed three key points regarding the interaction between opportunity structures and entrepreneurs. First, it showed that entrepreneurs actually consider 'place-based, local-scale' opportunity structures (Kuhn, 2006; Gill, 2011; Gill and Larson, 2014, p. 519) rather than generally accepted assumptions about being an entrepreneur (Watson, 2009). For instance, the women entrepreneurs in this study were engaging with perfectionism not merely because of their desire to be regarded as a superhero entrepreneur, but because of the social pressure on working women, cultural and religious norms on family and gender relations, and the masculine orientations of certain industries. This showed the significance of the structural environment in which entrepreneurs operate in context.

Second, it also became evident that the simultaneous influences of multiple opportunity structures put considerable pressure on women entrepreneurs. The women in this study were receiving social pressure to succeed as women entrepreneurs and working mothers but also political pressure through discussions on gender representations and religious affiliations. Even some of these opportunity structures contain contradictions within and across each other. For instance, the secular and Islamist discourses in terms of political opportunity structures contradict one another when it comes to female representations in society and business (Bilgin, 2004). Another example would be the social opportunity structure that associates women entrepreneurship with low performance and little credibility, which directly contradicts the institutional opportunity structure that provides additional funds for women entrepreneurs.

Third, the contradictions in and across opportunity structures lead to ambiguities in entrepreneurial identities and the experiences of these women entrepreneurs. The power dynamics between opportunity structures, where one opportunity structure is

enacted, negotiated, critiqued and subverted by another, plays an important role in contradictory identity constructions and experiences of Turkish women entrepreneurs. This negotiation process incorporates agentic responses and interpretations (Leaney, 2020) and this study showed how this structural reproduction is enacted in everyday negotiations of these entrepreneurs within a process of identity construction. Every single entrepreneur engages with these processes in her own way subject to her interpretation of these opportunity structures.

I highlight the simultaneity and the locality of multiple opportunity structures and I also show that conflicting opportunity structures in Turkey can lead to ambiguous or even contradictory entrepreneurial experiences and identities, both individually and in society at large. These insights have enriched the entrepreneurship field and recent discussions about its contextualisation (Welter et al., 2017). This research has also displayed the distinct views, meanings, and understandings about 'the entrepreneur' in a single country context, and by doing so, challenged Western theorizations on 'the entrepreneur' as being unitary, coherent and autonomous. Thus, this study has extended our knowledge with respect to entrepreneurial diversity and various entrepreneurship experiences by relating these to relevant and significant opportunity structures in a specific context (Welter et al., 2016). It has contributed to the literature on migrant and women entrepreneurship by showing how identity and the entrepreneurial experience are complex, multidimensional, and interdependent on local-scale opportunity structures.

Presenting the two contexts together in looking at the relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences

Chapter 2 analysed opportunity structures and their interaction with social categories. Those that followed, Chapters 3 and 4, analysed the patterns and processes of how women entrepreneurs of Turkish descent interpret opportunity structures and experience being entrepreneurs in the Netherlands and Turkey, respectively, while constructing their entrepreneurial and other social identities. These chapters focused specifically on these two national contexts to explore the relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences in detail. These two contexts provide various interpretations of opportunity structures and different interactions with social categories. Below, I present the findings in the two countries together.

The fact that Turkey is the home country and the Netherlands the host country for Turkish women entrepreneurs in this study displays the importance of migration and transnationalism as influential contextual elements. Turkish women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands are strongly connected to mainland Turkey, with transnational resources such as language and cultural capabilities, emotional ties with friends and relatives still living in Turkey, and the sense of belonging strengthened via these transnational links and

Turkish identity. This makes them prone to the contextual influences of Turkey as well as those in the Netherlands where they live and operate. Consideration of the experiences and identities of Turkish women entrepreneurs in relation to the opportunity structures in these two countries is valuable because Turkish women entrepreneurs share similar cultural backgrounds, as migrants in the Netherlands mostly live in a cultural environment dominated by Turkish cultural norms and practices (Essers and Benschop, 2007). Besides this, migrant women entrepreneurs assume that they would face a more favourable and supportive structural environment in Turkey and perform better if they operated back in Turkey (Essers, 2009b). This study sheds some light on whether their assumptions might hold true by pointing out the similarities and differences between the two countries regarding the intricate relationship of various opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identity constructions and experiences.

The details are provided below, looking firstly, at the interpretations of opportunity structures, secondly, at responses to these opportunity structures, and thirdly, at possible reasons for differences in these interpretations and responses in the two country contexts.

First, the women interviewed in the Netherlands experience the influences of a strong migration discourse, although some of them were not even migrants themselves, as they were born and raised in the Netherlands. Regardless of transnational influence, in other words, the extent to which they feel ethnically attached to Turkey or being Turkish, they have a migration point of view, because they are reminded of their migration background and their differences from the local population in various ways. As a result, their perceptions about opportunity structures revolve around either cultural adaptation or multiculturalism. The women entrepreneurs interviewed in Turkey perceive political and social opportunity structures to be contradictory because of historically opposing political views, which are religiously oriented, gendered, and class-based, while a military coup attempt in 2016 has widened the polarization between certain groups in society. The institutional opportunity structure is also contradictory in itself, aiming to foster women entrepreneurship, which is considered low scale and with low credibility with low survival rate.

Second, based on the interpretations of opportunity structures, the responses to these opportunity structures differ. In line with their perceptions of opportunity structures around cultural adaptation, some of the women interviewed in the Netherlands specify their similarities to the local Dutch people or their differences from the general migrant population. They perform this through Western practices of clothing, relationships between men and women, or alcohol consumption. Some others adapt to religious and cultural norms and practices and, in line with their perceptions of opportunity structures around multiculturalism, they accentuate their differences both from the local Dutch and from the typical Turkish migrant population. They emphasize their differences and position themselves differently through their education, travel, and language

acquisition and fluency. They either express a different migration history than that of a guest worker, or minimize their social connection with the ethnic community, or build bonds with a broader migrant community as a foreigner rather than specifically Turkish. Even the types of their businesses are influenced by their perceptions towards cultural adaptation or multiculturalism, such as wine brokerage at one end of the scale and social entrepreneurship in intercultural communication, diversity, and integration at the other. In Turkey, meanwhile, women respond to the opportunity structures in contradictory ways concerning religion, politics, gender, and entrepreneurship. For instance, one of the women interviewed has tried to construct a nonreligious identity as a result of recent sensitivities in society regarding religious affiliations, but at the same time she engages in religious or at least conservative types of behaviour with respect to clothing and relations with different sexes in response to cultural norms and practices. Another woman feels that she needs to distance her company from any political involvement, yet engages in politics through gender politics. Facing contradictions, in most cases these women entrepreneurs engage in certain types of behaviour at the expense of their entrepreneurship. Examples include refraining from the geographical expansion of their companies due to regulatory concerns, downgrading their entrepreneurship to a small business rather than becoming an international player due to a personal political affiliation, or retracting their entrepreneurial responsibilities to fulfil maternal and gendered responsibilities due to assigned traditional gender roles.

Third, when looking at various interpretations and responses of Turkish women entrepreneurs, women in Turkey seem to accept the situation and mostly choose to operate within the generally accepted boundaries set by the mainstream population even if they need to behave at the expense of their enterprises. In the Netherlands, Turkish migrant women challenge existing opportunity structures, oppose the stereotypical image of Turkish migrant woman, and present alternative images through their individual constructions of gender, ethnicity, and class and explore entrepreneurial possibilities accordingly.

There are couple of reasons for these differences. They can partly be explained by the cultural formation of societies, as Turkey is a more collectivist society with higher power distance, as opposed to the Netherlands, which is an individualist society and comparatively more egalitarian (Brons, 2006). The Turkish women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands in this study are one-and-a-half- and second-generation migrants who are educated in the Dutch system and have acquired the cultural characteristics of being self-aware and resistant. These cultural characteristics might influence their mindset and eagerness to challenge the status quo, question existing structures, and discover opportunities and position themselves in Dutch society.

This could also be related to the possibility of self-categorization based on interpersonal comparisons (Turner et al., 1987). Turkish migrant women can observe the cultural differences between the Turkish ethnic community and the local Dutch community but also with Turkish people in Turkey, and self-categorize themselves easily according to these categories. They can see the differences between institutional rules, regulations, and resources, and social, cultural, and religious norms and practices. It is easier for them than Turkish women in Turkey and Dutch women in the Netherlands to realize what is being provided for them and what is taken away, which eventually helps them to question the existing opportunity structures and demand for more favourable conditions.

Another reason could be that women in Turkey experience the existing opportunity structures as more restrictive than those experienced by women in the Netherlands. The level of the restrictions imposed on them differ especially with respect to religious or political affiliations as a result of recent political tensions in the country and the polarization and fragmentation of society along secular, religious, or ethnic lines (Keyman, 2014). Therefore, Turkish women in Turkey try to find a middle ground between contradictory opportunity structures to escape possible consequences such as sanctions, but most often they find it hard to balance various opportunity structures with their entrepreneurship and engage in ambiguous and contradictory experiences. For instance, Turkish women in both contexts are highly politicised. While they are purposefully engaging in politics and involved in political discussions in the Netherlands, they mostly try to refrain from any involvement into politics in Turkey, based on their perceptions of the consequences of the opportunity structures on to their entrepreneurial activities, as Turkey is perceived as much stricter than the Netherlands in that sense.

Considering the two contexts together provides a better understanding of the contextual influence and variety on the intricate relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences. The nature and extent of this relationship become much clearer. Hence, such perspective provides a comprehensive insight to see the ways of varying engagement in different entrepreneurship processes and entrepreneurship constructions and experiences.

As a result, contextual influences can make a considerable difference to the design, formation, and implementation of opportunity structures as well as to how entrepreneurs perceive and interpret these opportunity structures and respond to them.

Contributions to the literature and theory

This dissertation contributes to the literature on migrant and women entrepreneurship, as an important sub-stream of entrepreneurship research, in three specific ways.

1) A broader and layered view on opportunity structures

This dissertation rethinks opportunity structures for migrant and women entrepreneurs and presents a broader scope and a layered view that is more compatible with the external environment, switching the concept of 'opportunity' from idea generation to the relationship between entrepreneur and their structural environment. By taking this approach, it has responded to the recent debate regarding the nature and robustness of 'opportunity' in the field of entrepreneurship (Wright and Phan, 2020) and contributed to entrepreneurship theory through reconceptualizing opportunity structure.

Recent studies revolve around the meaning and usefulness of 'opportunity' (Alvarez and Barney, 2020; Foss and Klein, 2020; Wright and Phan, 2020). This dissertation addresses a broader environmental influence on opportunity generation, which also has a structural character, influencing entrepreneurs and does not always generate supportive opportunities. Especially with the notion of intersectionality, I have studied the interaction of opportunity structures with gender, ethnicity, and class, as well as the differentiation of opportunity structures. In the process it has become more apparent that they are not universal but subject to the power processes of social categories.

Through this study, I have demonstrated this emergent aspect of opportunity structures by presenting the actor's involvement in the formulation, design, utilisation, implementation, and communication processes of these opportunity structures. This emergent character of opportunity structures disrupts the fixed understanding of opportunity structures as objective circumstances that are the same for everyone, with entrepreneurs having little or no influence on changing or challenging them (Kloosterman, 2010; Mole and Mole, 2010). However, various configurations of opportunity structures interacting with social categories provide a more layered and nuanced view. This reconceptualization of opportunity structures can help to evaluate them from the perspective of inclusion and diversity and open more room for discussion of structural changes for social justice and economic and social participation.

With respect to the scope of this dissertation, I have studied opportunity structures in a broader fashion compared with prior studies exploring structural influences on entrepreneurship. Previous research tends to consider these influences mostly at meso levels through social network theory (Slotte-Kock and Coviello, 2010) or institutional theory (Bruton, Ahlstrom, and Li, 2010). Instead, I analysed opportunity structures at both the meso and micro levels, the former through various organizations, by analysing the

ways in which the representatives of these organizations make sense of the opportunity structures in relation to gender, ethnicity, and class; the latter in my analysis of the identity construction processes of individual entrepreneurs.

Regardless of the various categorisations of opportunity structures, whether considered as politico-institutional and socio-cultural constructs in Chapter 3, or social, political, and institutional structures in Chapter 4, the reconceptualization of opportunity structures with a broader and layered approach has provided a perspective that is more compatible with the external environment. By doing so, it does more good regarding social equality by considering various social categories, which will guide future studies in the field of migrant and women entrepreneurship regarding societal issues and responsible scholarship.

2) An intricate relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities

This dissertation has disclosed the intricate relationship between opportunity structures and women entrepreneurs' identity construction processes and experiences by showing how intersections of gender, ethnicity, and class are negotiated and maintained in relation to opportunity structures. It also examines how they are experienced and re-constructed by these entrepreneurs in the two different contexts of Turkey and the Netherlands (Acker, 2000). Previously, opportunity structures were studied as external factors influencing entrepreneurs in their entrepreneurial efforts (Kloosterman et al. 1999; Rusinovic, 2006). This approach provided more of a one-way direction of interaction. More recently, scholars have begun to emphasize the influence of entrepreneurs on the structures around them (Lewis, 2013; Stead, 2017). They have proposed a recursive two-way relationship between structures and entrepreneurs.

With my core research question, I have adopted the latter approach, shifting the focus from either the individual or the social environment to the relationship between the two. The nature of this relationship is non-linear. This dissertation has contributed to this branch of research by showing how opportunity structures are perceived and interpreted in a subjective way in the processes of entrepreneurial identity construction and experience. Not all of the opportunity structures in a certain context are relevant for each and every entrepreneur, and even those that are relevant do not influence entrepreneurs in the same way. Thus, my study has shown how women entrepreneurs consider those opportunity structures which are relevant to them and interpret them according to their perceptions of gender, ethnicity, and class. With regards to these interpretations, they construct their identities and experience being entrepreneurs. How they interpret opportunity structures and interact with them influences the ways in which they construct their entrepreneurial identities and experience their entrepreneurship.

While opportunity structures influence women entrepreneurs in their process of identity construction, women also challenge and change these opportunity structures by the entrepreneurial images they create, for instance as a wine broker or a manufacturer in the male-oriented leather industry, thus disrupting stereotypes and gendered assumptions and practices. By doing so, I have also added to the recent debate on opportunity by changing the discussion from an 'opportunity and enterprise nexus' to the 'interaction of opportunity structure and entrepreneur' by detailing the intricate relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences.

3) Contextualisation of entrepreneurial identity and experiences

This dissertation has contextualised the entrepreneurial identities and experiences of Turkish women entrepreneurs in two different contexts – the Netherlands and Turkey – and has contributed to the literature by reinforcing the understanding of the uniqueness of each entrepreneurial self and the variety of the concept of the entrepreneur (Welter et al., 2017). By contextualising entrepreneurs' constructions of their multiple identities, it has emphasized the importance of contextual elements rather than researchers' taken-for-granted assumptions about entrepreneurship, which might be derived from more traditional mainstream discourses and grand narratives.

The analysis in this dissertation has provided insights into how Turkish women entrepreneurs deal with power relations in various contexts, and how they rework their identities in relation to the opportunity structures in their environment. The dissertation has emphasized the importance of studying the 'everydayness' of entrepreneurship by studying entrepreneurial identity and experience. It is through everyday activities that people engage in entrepreneurship and construct their identities repeatedly over time in relation to place-based, local discourses in a particular context (Kuhn, 2006; Gill and Larson, 2014).

The contextual variety in this study has extended the understanding of entrepreneurial diversity further by unravelling context-specific constructions of gender, ethnicity, class, and entrepreneurship in relation to politics, society and institutions, and has accordingly contributed to the literature on entrepreneurship in context (Welter, 2011; Welter et al., 2016).

Reflections on research design and process

This section provides my final reflections on the research design, research process, and my role as an academic researcher.

In this dissertation, I have set out to build a more comprehensive understanding on the opportunity structures and their relationship between entrepreneurial identity constructions and experiences. The aim was not to put forward certain types of identities or to make general inferences about certain types of structural influences, but to attain a deeper knowledge of the ways in which entrepreneurship is experienced and constructed in daily life by minority 'others', specifically migrant and women entrepreneurs in different contexts.

Therefore, I designed this research and analysed the life-stories of Turkish women entrepreneurs and the transcripts of interviews with organisations in two countries. Life stories could be criticised for providing subjective data; however, the analysis of the narratives allows us to grasp 'real life' events and experiences that lead to the processes of entrepreneurial identity construction and experiences (Bidart and Dupray, 2015). Experiences and identity formations are, after all, subjective processes. Individual experiences, therefore, enable researchers to draw typical patterns and sequences of treatment towards individuals: in the case of this dissertation, Turkish women entrepreneurs.

Interviews supported by written notes is the only data collection method used in this dissertation, either as semi-structured interviews or life-stories. Interviews, especially those that use open questions, provide detailed and extensive data. However, depending on interviews alone can result in a lack of practical insights that could be attained through observations of entrepreneurs' behaviour in their work environments and interaction with other relevant parties. Considering the theoretical framework and the research interest of this dissertation, it would have been a difficult and time-consuming process to observe how entrepreneurs construct their identities and experience their entrepreneurship. Therefore, I designed interviews as the only source of data collection for this dissertation.

By analysing the interviews with both the representatives of organisations and the entrepreneurs, I was able to unravel nuances and layers of the opportunity structures in play as well as their intricate relationship with entrepreneurial identities and experiences. This research design actually helped me to understand varying configurations and perceptions regarding opportunity structures with the involvement of actors, which can be representatives, policy makers, and executors, or the Turkish women entrepreneurs. The representatives of organisations interpret opportunity structures in interaction with social categories while they are forming, implementing, and communicating them, while the entrepreneurs perceive opportunity structures reconciled by their identities while they are responding to them. I managed to point out this emergent nature of

opportunity structures through a discursive approach (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). A discursive approach helped me to analyse the language and realise the discourses around migrant and women entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, but also to study what was meant rather than what was said. This approach enabled to ask 'why and how questions' continuously throughout the analysis, to grasp some of the nuance and detail beyond existing knowledge in this field and to deepen understanding with respect to the actor-structure interaction. Additionally, the narrative analysis allowed to uncover dialogic and performative aspects including pauses, gazes, gestures, hesitances, corrections, inconsistencies, and interruptions. This led to a more comprehensive analysis of the interaction.

Being involved in such study it is important to note that I, like the research subjects, am of Turkish origin, migrated to the Netherlands and was engaged in entrepreneurial activities for a while in my career. This has intensively influenced my position and role as a researcher during the data collection and analysis processes. Being aware of reflexivity and making use of reflexive analysis (Macbeth, 2001) helped me to realise how influential my positioning is in an interview process, with respect to both processes of data generation and interpretation. For example, as the sole interviewer and the main author in this dissertation, I am aware of the influence of my own identities and specialties such as being a woman, wearing a headscarf (during the data collection period, I was wearing a headscarf), having a Turkish background, having migrated to the Netherlands as an expatriate, speaking fluent Turkish and English but not Dutch, being affiliated to a European university, and having corporate experience. All of these personal identities and specialties intersectionally signalled certain stereotypical characteristics and attributions and triggered specific reactions from the interviewees that I detail for each context in the following paragraphs.

The women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands opened up their lives to me with tears and laughter. The representatives of the organizations with a Turkish background sympathised with me and wanted to receive my help for their projects or they perceived me as an audience to justify their arguments regarding policies and regulations. Some of the representatives with a Dutch background were initially surprised about the interview questions, which was apparent from their body language and certain expressions. I attributed the reason of their surprise to the fact that I am, as a Turkish migrant woman, literally questioning the opportunity structures by asking questions, which also involved sensitive issues such as politics, discrimination, diversity, and social injustice. Despite their initial surprise, the interviews took place in a professional manner and the interviewees were helpful in general – with the exception of the head of a Dutch SME organization, who was judgmental about me in my experience and displayed her discomfort by challenging the interview questions, interrupting the interview with personal or work-related issues, and giving short answers. She might have projected her perceptions

about multiculturalism and migrant integration and her prejudices about Turkish migrant women based on a stereotypical image on to me, because in some parts of the interview, she was referring to me when she was talking about Turkish migrant women. Besides, at that time, I was representing a stereotypical image of a Turkish migrant woman lacking Dutch language skills and wearing modest clothing with a headscarf. Through these reactions, I could reflect on the experiences of Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs in relation to the negative social and political discourses they face in Dutch society.

In Turkey, the interviews with the representatives of organizations and women entrepreneurs were quite illustrative regarding the contradictory opportunity structures, and the accompanying contradictory views and identities. For instance, some of the entrepreneurs were highly suspicious; one questioned my presence as if I had been sent from a political party to spy on her business operations, while another even thought I might be acting for a religious organization to fool her and make her be seen as a terrorist. The first of these difficult interviews was successful, as I managed to convince her regarding my intentions, but the latter was not, as the interviewee deleted the three-hour recording and threatened to report me to the police based on her suspicions about me. Another entrepreneur questioned the headscarf that I was wearing at that time and tried to educate me regarding the emancipation of women. However, some of the entrepreneurs were very friendly and hospitable (insisting that I had breakfast and lunch with them, inviting me to visit their cities and escorting me to the airport). Interviews with the representatives of the organisations followed quite a similar pattern. Some of them confronted me, provided defensive arguments and created an unfriendly interview atmosphere, such that they even did not offer me a place to sit or look at me while I was talking, in the hope of ending the interview sooner. They deflected my questions and gave short answers. Whereas others were extremely understanding and tried to comfort me in any way possible.

These experiences in the field personally affected me both positively and negatively. The fact that I was aware of these influences and interactions helped me to stay professional and put scholarly attention on the analysis and interpretation of the data. Besides, frequent discussions with my supervisors helped me to cope with such emotional issues during this process and sustain professionalism, meticulousness, and rigor. Eventually, these interactions with the interviewees with different backgrounds, worldviews and perspectives informed me that each individual, women entrepreneurs and representatives alike, interpreted my identities and specialties differently and reacted differently just as they acted differently in interpreting the opportunity structures and constructing their entrepreneurial identities and experiencing their entrepreneurship. This awareness helped me to evaluate each interview separately on its own merits and understand the complexity of a person's interpersonal relationships as well as their relationship with structural elements.

Reflections on limitations and recommendations for future research

The settings that I studied, Turkey and the Netherlands, were fruitful with respect to the structural dynamics unique to each context, but there were also limitations. I essentially studied these contexts at the national level, although the names of the cities were mentioned in respective studies. I am aware, however, that local-scale discourses and practices might change significantly at the regional level, especially in Turkey, where dramatic cultural and normative differences exist both between regions and between urban and rural environments regarding gender, ethnicity, and class.

I looked at the relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences from the perspective of the entrepreneurs. Analysis of the relationship from the perspective of opportunity structures was therefore limited in considering the entrepreneurs' influences individually or as a group on the opportunity structures. I have only noted the efforts of Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands in challenging and disrupting negative discourses and stereotypical images through their entrepreneurial ideas and construction of alternative images. Similarly, I was not able to fully study the change in opportunity structures over time, because I did not design a longitudinal study with recurring interviews with the same representatives and entrepreneurs in different time periods. A longitudinal study might have helped me to study the dynamic relationship of opportunity structures and identities and experiences better, but such a study needs to be spread over years to uncover a recognizable change in the opportunity structures, entrepreneurial experiences and identity construction processes. Conducting such research may not even be possible within the duration of a dissertation. Instead, I opted to analyse various contexts concerning the relationship, because we also know from the literature that context matters in entrepreneurship studies as well as identity processes and experiences (Watson, 2009; Ybema et al., 2009; Welter, 2011). Thus, the context dependency of identity, experiences, opportunity structures as well as of entrepreneurship formed the grounds of this thesis.

Based on the findings of this thesis, I form some questions for two possible avenues of future research. The first concerns the contextualisation of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial identities, including transnationalism and transnational influence. The second relates to intersections of social categories and intersectionality in entrepreneurship. These lines of research can be built into future studies in the field of entrepreneurship in general and minority and women entrepreneurship in particular. For instance, in this dissertation, I question the notion of Western orientation in the field of entrepreneurship in line with other studies (Pio and Dana 2014; Tedmanson and Evans, 2017; Imas, Wilson, and Weston, 2012). This opens up an area of research into what contextualisation adds to our understanding of the everyday reality of entrepreneurship,

including which other non-Western contexts we need to consider, what makes one context more important or relevant than others, and who decides on what grounds certain contexts are worthy of study. Additionally, in this dissertation I draw attention to contextual variety. This leads to a number of other relevant questions, such as how various other contexts shape opportunity structures and the relationship between these opportunity structures and identity, how much we should contextualise entrepreneurship, and how we should analyse differences between one context and another.

This dissertation has explored the relationship between place-based, local opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences in the contexts of two different countries. The contributions lead to identify further questions such as what the major contextual differences are: whether the context is that of a developing or developed country, a social welfare or a privatized liberal state, or a religiously governed or a democratic country, as well as how we can relate these contexts all back to the main entrepreneurship literature. In line with discussing the contextualisation of entrepreneurship, I also briefly touched upon the influence of transnational links on entrepreneurial experiences and the identities of migrant women entrepreneurs. These insights could be further developed into a research focus on transnationalism and transnational entrepreneurship with respect to migrant and women entrepreneurs.

Relating to the second line of future research recommendations, this dissertation has mainly focused on the intersections of gender, ethnicity and class. A similar approach could be used for further studies into other social identity categories such as seniority, youth, race, sexual orientation, or disability – that is, all other minority classifications. The results together can provide a broader view on how the opportunity structures operate for diverse minority entrepreneurs in a given context and how inclusive these opportunity structures in that context are. Accounting for minority groups would yield better insights into whether certain opportunity structures are supporting or restricting, and thus help create new possibilities for those entrepreneurs. This might lead to better policy interventions and improvements for minority entrepreneurs to remove structural inequalities and to attain both diversity and equal opportunity simultaneously.

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APPENDICES

Appendix.1
The list of representatives of the organisations interviewed (Chapter 2)

Name*	Sex (M/F)	Institution	Ethnic Origin / Country
Kagan	M	Dutch Bank	Turkish - NL
Feride	F	Chamber of Commerce	Turkish - NL
Selin	F	House of Entrepreneurs	Turkish - NL
Sukru	M	Turkish Business Association	Turkish - NL
Saadet	F	Women Platform	Turkish - NL
Abdullah	M	Migration Institute	Turkish - NL
Elsa	F	Tax Office	Dutch - NL
Emily	F	Business Federation of SME's	Dutch - NL
Tuba	F	Office of Commerce	Turkish - NL
Emile	M	Lobbying Agency	Dutch - NL
Justin	M	Radio Station	Dutch - NL
Martin	M	Turkish Bank	Turkish - TR
Derya	F	Chamber of Commerce	Turkish - TR
Emel	F	Entrepreneur Support Unit	Turkish - TR
Ipek	F	Business Federation	Turkish - TR
Duygu	F	Women Entrepreneurs' Association	Turkish - TR
Selim	M	Tax Office	Turkish - TR
Zehra	F	Women Status Office	Turkish - TR
Belgin	F	Association of Young Entrepreneurs	Turkish - TR
Kemal	M	Entrepreneur Education Centre	Turkish - TR
Ahmet	M	Entrepreneurship TV Program	Turkish - TR

* Names are pseudonym, created by the first author.

Appendix.2
Interview guide for semi-structured interviews

1. Could you please introduce us your organization and your activities? (what are your main activities for the entrepreneurs and/or potential entrepreneurs? Are there any specific workshops, seminars, trainings)?
2. What is the procedure to be registered/become member of your organization? What kind of requirements are there to be eligible for the benefits/activities/trainings you offer?
3. Are there any activities regarding to migrant and/or female entrepreneurs? Specifically for Turkish female entrepreneurs?
4. What is the number/percentage of Turkish female entrepreneurs as members of your organization? How frequently do you encounter with a Turkish female entrepreneur in the organization or how frequently do Turkish female entrepreneurs attend your activities?
5. Is there a special person or department/section to deal with ethnic entrepreneurs (and, if applicable, specifically with Turkish female entrepreneurs)?
6. What kinds of business opportunities are there for Turkish female entrepreneurs?
7. What could be the advantages and disadvantages of Turkish female entrepreneurs that you encounter/recognize when doing business? Are you familiar with any constraints/difficulties these women face? If yes, what could be offered to them to overcome those difficulties?
8. What do you think makes/would make Turkish female entrepreneurs (more) successful? What do your organization concretely do and offer to help these women being successful?
9. Does political atmosphere support your organization to help female and/or migrant entrepreneurship?
10. How do the societal requirements or perceptions about female and/or migrant entrepreneurs affect the way your organization operates?
11. How do the migration or integration laws and regulations affect the rules and policies of your organization?
12. How do the cultural norms and expectations on female migrants influence entrepreneurship of Turkish females you encounter in your organization?
13. What do you think about the diverging effects of local and migrant culture on Turkish female entrepreneurs in dealing with their businesses?
14. Do the appearance of 'Turkish females (entrepreneurs)' image on media affect the approach and/or policies of your organization? If yes, in what ways?
15. Is duo-national identity of Turkish female entrepreneurs a benefit in Dutch business system? If yes, in what ways?

16. How do you see the effect of gender roles defined both in local culture and migrant culture on business performance of (Turkish) female entrepreneurs?
17. What do you think about the business performance of Turkish female entrepreneurs compared to other female entrepreneurs and male entrepreneurs?
18. When you encounter with a Turkish female entrepreneur, how does she communicate with your organization? As a migrant, a woman or an entrepreneur?
19. What do they think also, in general, of the opportunity structures in the Netherlands and Turkey, concerning these female Turkish entrepreneurs?
20. How do these opportunity structures, in your perception, influence the ability to be a Turkish female entrepreneur?

Appendix.3
Demographics of the interviewees in the Netherlands (Chapter 3)

#	Nickname	Type of business	Years in business	Place of business
1	Sonay	Cultural Social Formation Consultant, Project Manager, Trainer	8	Amsterdam
2	Gulay	Founding manager of elderly, disabled, substance abuse, foster care and maternity care services	8	Amsterdam
3	Nuray	Business doctor, care agent for coaching and counselling	9	The Hague
4	Feray	Legal counsellor	15	The Hague
5	Nilay	Coach, counsellor and trainer in personal development	15	Amsterdam
6	Serenay	International journalist, PR expert, media professional, and wine broker	14	Rotterdam
7	Asilay	Founder of a nursery school, founding manager of tourism and accountancy services	12	Utrecht
8	Miray	Interior designer	9	Rotterdam
9	Canay	Organiser and manager of intercultural communication, participation and integration events, and talent courses for children with ethnic backgrounds	17	Rotterdam
10	Ilkay	Children's theatre organiser, script writer	9	Amsterdam

Age / Reason for migration	Marital Status	Age / Ethnicity
19 years / Marriage	Divorced, two adult children, remarried to a Dutch husband	43/ Turkish
Born in NL / Migration of father as a guest worker	Married with two children	38/ Turkish
Six years / Migration of father as a guest worker	Married with one child	45/ Turkish
Four years / Migration of father as a guest worker	Single, no children	46/ Turkish
Six years / Migration of father as a guest worker	Divorced, one adult child	46/ Turkish
Six years / Migration of father as a teacher employed by Turkish government	Divorced, one adult child	47/ Turkish
Born in NL / Migration of father as a guest worker	Married with five children	33/ Turkish
Born in NL / Migration of father as a guest worker	Married, no children	34/ Turkish
15 years / Migration of father as a guest worker	Married with two adult children	53/ Turkish / Kurdish - Alevi
Four years / Migration of father as a refugee due to security problems	Divorced, one child, In a relation, one child	47/ Turkish / Assyrian

Appendix.4
Demographics of the interviewees in Turkey (Chapter 4)

#	Nickname	Type of business	Years in business	Place of business
1	Neva	Boutique Patisserie	8	Gaziantep
2	Demet	Jewelry Store	6	Gaziantep
3	Saadet	Manufacturer – Bed, sofas	21	Kayseri
4	Vildan	Traditional Food Restaurant Chain	19	Kayseri
5	Melda	Mom-children website	9	Yalova
6	Emel	High-tech biologic worm production	3	Kocaeli
7	Ruya	Leather manufacturing	20	Istanbul
8	Kadriye	Chemicals and detergent production	32	Istanbul
9	Sevgi	Test-machinery production	20	Istanbul
10	Aliye	Audio-visual consultancy service	13	Istanbul
11	Karine	Boutique custom made clothing	3	Istanbul

Age / Ethnicity & Nationality	Marital Status
34 / Turkish	Married with 2 children
36 / Turkish	Married with 3 children
58 / Turkish - German	Married with 3 grown-up children
56 / Turkish	Married with 2 grown-up children, 7 grandchildren
41 / Turkish	Married with 2 children
27 / Turkish	Single
52 / Turkish - Kurdish	Married with 2 children
72 / Turkish	Widow, 2 grown-up children, 3 grandchildren
48 / Turkish	Married with a child
49 / Turkish	Married with 2 children
29 / Turkish - Armenian	Married, no child

ENGLISH SUMMARY

English Summary
(For a non-academic audience)[1]

Opportunity has been a point of interest for a long time in the field of entrepreneurship. Researchers have tried to understand whether entrepreneurs create it, or discover and exploit it. Depending on the degree of agency of the entrepreneurs, an opportunity is considered to be either a reflexive construction or actor-independent. In the 1990s, especially in the area of migrant entrepreneurship, researchers paid attention to the structural aspect of these opportunities and started to use the term 'opportunity structures'. This term mainly refers to situational opportunities and constraints that affect the occurrence and characteristics of entrepreneurial behaviour, such as bank loans, government regulations, or entrepreneurship policies.

Studies have so far considered opportunity structures in terms of market conditions and access to businesses, including inter-ethnic competition and state policies, which provide material resources for migrant entrepreneurs. Group characteristics such as gender, migration, and ethnicity tend to be considered separately from opportunity structures. The influence of ethnic and migrant contexts on opportunity structures is therefore undervalued while too little attention is paid to gender and class. Thus, opportunity structures are studied as neutral, material resources that influence entrepreneurs in the same way. Discursive practices or power relations embedded in these structures are frequently ignored. It is rarely acknowledged that entrepreneurs perceive and interpret these opportunity structures differently based on their individual social identities.

This dissertation reconsiders opportunity structures for Turkish women entrepreneurs and explores how opportunity structures interact with entrepreneurial identity construction and experience. The data consists of interviews with 21 representatives of organisations and 21 Turkish women entrepreneurs in the contexts of two countries – the Netherlands and Turkey.

Opportunity structures interacting with social categories in the Netherlands and Turkey

In the first paper of this dissertation, I study the opportunity structures interacting with gender, ethnicity, and class in the Netherlands and Turkey. The organisations taking part in this study are tax and trade offices, (ethnic) business associations, banks, women's platforms, local government agencies, entrepreneurship support institutions, a migration institute, and radio and TV programs. The analysis focuses on social, political, and institutional opportunity structures, with an intersectional perspective of gender, ethnicity and class.

1 For an academic summary, please refer to the Conclusion (Chapter 5).

The study demonstrates that opportunity structures interact with these social categories in various configurations. Some of these structures are introduced specifically for groups of people of a certain gender, ethnicity, and class, such as the special funds for women entrepreneurs in Turkey. Some are utilised by a certain group of people, although these are not necessarily targeted at them alone, such as the House of entrepreneurs in the Netherlands. Moreover, some opportunity structures are communicated and executed according to the interpretations of institutional agents, which are subject to discourses around gender, ethnicity and class, such as the biased behaviour of the representative of the entrepreneurship association in the Netherlands.

By showing these various configurations, this study presents the nuances and layers of opportunity structures and highlights their emergent character. It contributes to research on migrant and women entrepreneurship by providing a more nuanced and layered view on opportunity structures and opens more room for a holistic observation of opportunity structures in different contexts.

The interplay between identity construction and opportunity structures: Narratives of Turkish migrant women entrepreneurs in the Netherlands

The second paper of this dissertation examines the interaction between opportunity structures and the entrepreneurial identities and experiences of Turkish women entrepreneurs operating in the Netherlands. This study theorizes a much more intricate relationship between entrepreneurs and opportunity structures by acknowledging the fact that entrepreneurs perceive and interpret opportunity structures differently and construct their entrepreneurial identities and experience their entrepreneurship accordingly. This dynamic relationship incorporates various intersections of gender, ethnicity, class, politics, society, religion, culture, and institutions.

The study identifies three processes of entrepreneurial identity construction and experience – politicization, class-consciousness, and transnational and cosmopolitan positioning – each detailing the intricacy between opportunity structures and Turkish women entrepreneurs. The Turkish women in the study are all politicised, class-conscious, and socially positioned in transnational and cosmopolitan ways, but the manners in which they experience and construct their entrepreneurial identities differ. Their entrepreneurial constructions vary depending on individual interpretations of politics, religion, culture, entrepreneurship, gender, ethnicity and class.

This study contributes to the literature on migrant and women entrepreneurship by contextualizing the dynamic relationship in the context of the Netherlands. It also demonstrates the ways in which these women interpret opportunity structures depending on their various intersections of gender, ethnicity, and class, and the manner in which they construct their entrepreneurial identities and experience as entrepreneurs in relation to these interpretations.

A contextual analysis of entrepreneurial identity and experience: Women entrepreneurs in Turkey

The third paper of this dissertation analyses the contextual influences on the relationship between opportunity structures and the entrepreneurial identities and experiences of Turkish women in Turkey. Turkey, with its competing discourses on gender – one secular and the other Islamic, its history of patriarchal norms and practices, a geopolitical position with several ethnicities, and both neo-liberal and neo-conservative policy approaches towards women entrepreneurship, yields an interesting context for our analysis.

This analysis identifies three processes of identity construction: perfectionism, distancing from politics, and closed social positioning. The interviewees try to present a perfect image of an entrepreneur, distance their enterprises from politics to eliminate possible negative influences, and position themselves in a closed social circle as a result of the polarized nature of society. These three processes yield certain key points regarding the dynamic relationship between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences. They show that first, entrepreneurs actually consider 'place-based, local-scale' opportunity structures rather than generally accepted assumptions about being an entrepreneur. Second, the simultaneous influences of multiple opportunity structures put considerable pressure on women entrepreneurs. Third, the contradictions in and across opportunity structures lead to ambiguities in entrepreneurial identities and the experiences of these women.

This study contributes to the literature on women entrepreneurship by highlighting the simultaneity and locality of multiple opportunity structures influencing entrepreneurial identity and experiences at the individual level as well as the meaning and understanding of 'the entrepreneur' at a societal level. It also extends our understanding about entrepreneurial diversity by showing various entrepreneurial experiences in relation to relevant and significant opportunity structures in a specific context.

To conclude, as a response to recent debate on the nature and robustness of entrepreneurial opportunity, this dissertation reconsiders opportunity structures as a concept, that presents a broader scope and a layered view that is more compatible with the external environment, and switches the discussion from idea generation to the relationship between entrepreneurs and their structural environment. The reconceptualization of opportunity structures as emergent, non-universal, layered and nuanced, subject to power processes of social categories, will provide a platform to evaluate the structural environment from the perspective of inclusion and diversity and to discuss structural changes for social justice and economic and social participation.

It is also important to note that the intricate relationship disclosed in this dissertation between opportunity structures and entrepreneurial identities and experiences shows the true nature of the interaction. Entrepreneurs are not only subject to the influences of their outer environment; they also have a say in deciding which external factors are relevant

and significant to their entrepreneurship. Opportunity structures are also not universal and material factors that influence all the actors in the same context. Rather, they are subject to various configurations based on how certain social categories are negotiated and maintained in that context. This dynamic and intertwined nature of the relationship shifts the discussion from an 'opportunity and enterprise nexus' to the 'interaction between opportunity structure and entrepreneur'. This extends our understanding of entrepreneurial identity and experience as well as entrepreneurial diversity through context-specific constructions of gender, ethnicity, class, politics, religion, society, culture, institutions, and entrepreneurship.

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

Nederlandse samenvatting
(Voor een niet-academisch publiek)[1]

Kansen (‘*opportunities*’) zijn al geruime tijd een kernthema als het gaat om ondernemerschap. Onderzoekers hebben getracht te begrijpen of ondernemers kansen *creëren* of *ontdekken*. Zijn ze feitelijk actor-onafhankelijk, of is er sprake van (reflexieve) constructie. Vooral op het gebied van migrantenondernemerschap besteedden onderzoekers in de jaren 90 aandacht aan het structurele aspect van deze kansen en begonnen ze de term ‘opportuniteitsstructuur’ te gebruiken. Opportuniteitsstructuren verwijzen voornamelijk naar situationele kansen (en beperkingen) die van invloed zijn op het voorkomen, en op de kenmerken, van ondernemersgedrag. Te denken valt aan zaken als (bancaire) leningen, overheidsvoorschriften of ondernemerschapsbeleid.

Opportuniteitsstructuren worden overwegend bestudeerd als neutrale, materiële hulpbronnen, die alle ondernemers op dezelfde manier beïnvloeden. Groepskenmerken zoals gender, migratie-achtergrond en etnische sociale netwerken worden meestal los gezien van opportuniteitsstructuren. De invloed van de etnische en migrantencontext op opportuniteitsstructuren wordt ondergewaardeerd en er wordt te weinig aandacht besteed aan gender en klasse. Discursieve praktijken of machtsverhoudingen die in deze structuren zijn ingebed, worden vaak genegeerd. Er wordt zelden erkend dat ondernemers opportuniteitsstructuren verschillend waarnemen en interpreteren op basis van hun individuele sociale identiteit.

Dit proefschrift heroverweegt opportuniteitsstructuren voor Turkse vrouwelijke ondernemers en onderzoekt hoe opportuniteitsstructuren samenhangen met de constructie en het ervaren van ondernemersidentiteit. De dataset bestaat uit 21 interviews met vertegenwoordigers van organisaties en 21 interviews met vrouwelijke ondernemers met een Turkse achtergrond in twee contexten: Nederland en Turkije.

De wisselwerking tussen opportuniteitsstructuren en sociale categorieën in Nederland en Turkije

In het eerste paper van dit proefschrift staat centraal hoe opportuniteitsstructuren, gender, etniciteit en klasse elkaar beïnvloeden in twee contexten: Nederland en Turkije. De organisaties die deelnemen aan dit onderzoek zijn belasting- en handelskantoren, (Turkse) bedrijfsverenigingen, banken, vrouwenplatforms, lokale overheidsinstanties, ondersteunende instanties voor ondernemerschap, een migratie-instituut en radio- en tv-programma’s. De analyse betrof de sociale, politieke en institutionele opportuniteitsstructuren vanuit een intersectioneel perspectief (gender, etniciteit en klasse).

1 Voor een academische samenvatting verwijzen wij naar de conclusie (hoofdstuk 5).

De studie toonde, in verschillende configuraties, de wisselwerking aan van opportuniteitsstructuren met deze sociale categorieën. Een aantal van de opportuniteitsstructuren wordt specifiek bedoeld voor mensen met een bepaalde gender, vanuit een specifieke etnische, of klasse-achtergrond, zoals de speciale fondsen voor vrouwelijke ondernemers in Turkije. Sommige worden gebruikt door een bepaalde groep mensen, hoewel deze niet zozeer op hen gericht waren, zoals de Ondernemershuizen in Nederland. Sommige van de opportuniteitsstructuren worden gecommuniceerd en uitgevoerd volgens de interpretaties van institutionele actoren, die gelinkt zijn aan het vigerende discours over gender, etniciteit en klasse, zoals bijvoorbeeld bleek uit het vooringenomen gedrag van de vertegenwoordiger van de ondernemersvereniging in Nederland.

Door het aantonen van de aanwezigheid van deze verschillende configuraties, kon deze studie de nuances en de gelaagdheid van opportuniteitsstructuren laten zien, en is het belangrijke karakter van opportuniteitsstructuren benadrukt. Het draagt bij aan de literatuur op het gebied van ondernemerschap specifiek voor wat betreft migranten en vrouwen, en biedt ruimte voor een meer alomvattend begrip van opportuniteitsstructuren in verschillende contexten.

De wisselwerking tussen identiteitsconstructie en opportuniteitsstructuren: verhalen van Turkse vrouwelijke migrantenondernemers in Nederland

Het tweede paper van dit proefschrift bestudeerde de interactie tussen opportuniteitsstructuren en ondernemersidentiteiten en ervaringen van Turkse vrouwelijke ondernemers die in Nederland actief zijn. Deze studie theoretiseerde de ingewikkelde relatie tussen de ondernemers en opportuniteitsstructuren, door te erkennen dat ondernemers onderling opportuniteitsstructuren anders kunnen waarnemen en interpreteren, en dat ze hun ondernemersidentiteiten construeren en hun ondernemerschap dienovereenkomstig ervaren. Deze dynamische relatie krijgt zijn vorm op het snijvlak van gender, etniciteit, klasse, politiek, samenleving, religie, cultuur en instanties.

De studie liet drie processen van ondernemersidentiteitsconstructie en ervaring zien - politisering, klassenbewustzijn en transnationale en kosmopolitische positionering - ieder een gedetailleerd inzicht in de complexiteit tussen de opportuniteitsstructuren en Turkse vrouwelijke ondernemers. De Turkse vrouwen in de studie waren allemaal gepolitiseerd, klassenbewust en sociaal gepositioneerd op transnationale en kosmopolitische manieren, maar de manieren waarop ze hun ondernemersidentiteiten ervaren en construeren, verschilden, afhankelijk van hun individuele interpretaties van politiek, religie, cultuur, ondernemerschap, gender, etniciteit en klasse.

Deze studie draagt bij aan de literatuur betreffende migranten- en vrouwelijke ondernemers door het contextualiseren van de dynamische relatie in de context van Nederland. Bovendien laat het zien hoe deze vrouwelijke ondernemers opportuniteitsstructuren interpreteren, afhankelijk van hoe voor hen gender, etniciteit en klasse – in samenhang – vorm krijgen, almede van de manier waarop zij hun ondernemersidentiteiten construeren en ervaren als ondernemer in relatie tot deze interpretaties.

Een contextuele analyse van ondernemersidentiteit en ervaring: vrouwelijke ondernemers in Turkije

Het derde paper van dit proefschrift analyseerde de contextuele invloeden op de relatie tussen opportuniteitsstructuren en ondernemersidentiteiten, en de ervaringen van Turkse vrouwelijke ondernemers in Turkije. Turkije, met zijn complexe dialogen over gender - het ene seculier en het andere islamitisch - met een geschiedenis van patriarchale normen en praktijken; de geopolitieke positie met verschillende etniciteiten; en neoliberale en neo-conservatieve beleidsbenaderingen ten aanzien van vrouwelijk ondernemerschap, levert een interessante context op voor onze analyse.

De analyse identificeerde drie processen van identiteitsconstructie: perfectionisme, afstand nemen van de politiek en gesloten sociale positionering. De geïnterviewde Turkse ondernemers proberen een perfect beeld te geven van een ondernemer, distantiëren hun ondernemingen van de politiek om mogelijke negatieve invloeden van de politiek te elimineren, en positioneren zichzelf in een gesloten sociale kring als gevolg van het gepolariseerde karakter van de samenleving. Deze drie processen leverden bepaalde belangrijke inzichten op met betrekking tot de dynamische relatie tussen opportuniteitsstructuren en ondernemersidentiteiten en -ervaringen. De processen toonden aan dat ondernemers ten eerste feitelijk rekening houden met 'plaatsgebonden, lokale' opportuniteitsstructuren in plaats van algemeen aanvaarde aannames over het ondernemerschap; ten tweede leggen de gelijktijdige invloeden van opportuniteitsstructuren een aanzienlijke druk op vrouwelijke ondernemers; ten derde leiden de tegenstrijdigheden in en tussen opportuniteitsstructuren tot ambiguïteit voor wat betreft de identiteit en de ervaringen van deze vrouwelijke ondernemers.

Deze studie draagt bij aan de literatuur over vrouwelijk ondernemerschap door de gelijktijdigheid en lokaliteit te benadrukken van meerdere opportuniteitsstructuren die de identiteit en ervaringen van ondernemers op individueel niveau beïnvloeden, evenals de betekenis en het begrip van 'de ondernemer' op maatschappelijk niveau. Het vergroot ook ons begrip van ondernemersdiversiteit door verschillende ondernemerservaringen te laten zien in relatie tot relevante en significante opportuniteitsstructuren in een specifieke context.

In conclusie, dit proefschrift, in reactie op een recent debat over de aard en kwaliteit van ondernemerskansen, belicht de heroverweging van opportuniteitsstructuren als een concept, dat een bredere reikwijdte en een gelaagde visie biedt die meer compatibel is met de externe omgeving. Deze heroverweging voert weg van de discussie rond ideeëngeneratie, naar de relatie tussen ondernemer en structurele omgeving. Door opportuniteitsstructuren te zien als opkomend, niet-universeel, gelaagd en genuanceerd, en onderworpen aan een machtsdynamiek in samenhang met diverse sociale categorieën, wordt het mogelijk om de structurele omgeving te evalueren vanuit het perspectief van inclusie en diversiteit en om over structurele veranderingen te discussiëren voor wat betreft sociale rechtvaardigheid en economische en maatschappelijke participatie.

Daarnaast, ook belangrijk, heeft dit proefschrift inzicht gegenereerd in de complexe relatie tussen opportuniteitsstructuren en ondernemersidentiteiten en -ervaringen. Ondernemers hebben niet alleen te maken met de invloeden van de externe omgeving; zij kunnen ook kiezen welke externe factoren relevant en significant zijn in hun eigen ondernemerschap. Opportuniteitsstructuren zijn geen universele, materiële factoren die alle actoren in dezelfde context gelijkelijk beïnvloeden, maar onderhevig aan verschillende configuraties op basis van hoe bepaalde sociale categorieën in die context worden onderhandeld en gehandhaafd. Dit dynamische en verweven karakter zorgt ervoor dat de discussie verschuift van een 'nexus van kansen en ondernemingen' naar de 'interactie van opportuniteitsstructuur en ondernemer'. Dit vergroot ons begrip rond de ondernemersidentiteit en -ervaring alsmede diversiteit door contextspecifieke constructies van gender, etniciteit, klasse, politiek, religie, samenleving, cultuur, instanties en ondernemerschap.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

About the author

Sibel Özaşir Kaçar was born in Kayseri, Turkey on May 15th, 1984. She studied business administration in her bachelor in Boğazici University, Istanbul. After graduation, she worked as an auditor for three years in PriceWaterhouseCoopers Istanbul office and Ernst&Young Amsterdam office. In 2011, she studied at VU University Amsterdam and received her master's degree in Business Administration, Specialisation in Entrepreneurship. She wrote her master's thesis on entrepreneurial motivation in legitimization of design in sustainable product design. After her study, she had her own company in jewelry design for four years.

In 2015, Sibel started her PhD project at the Institute for Management Research at Radboud University. Her project has resulted in one publication (open access) in *International Small Business Journal* and one book chapter in *The Palgrave Handbook of Minority Entrepreneurship*. Her other two papers are currently under review at *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* and *International Migration*. Sibel also participated in several international conferences and workshops, including Gender, Work and Organization (2016), Critical Management Studies Conference (2017, 2019), Standing Conference on Organisational Symbolism (2018), Research in Entrepreneurship and Small Business Conference (2018, 2019, 2020), Belgium Entrepreneurship Research Day (2019), and the Academy of Management Meetings (2019, 2020).

In 2019, Sibel started to work as an external teacher and thesis supervisor in VU University Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam (UvA), and Radboud University. She was involved in several courses including *Diversity in Organisations*, *Cross-cultural Management and Communication, Business Ethics*, and *Academic Skills,* and she supervised Bachelor's and Master's thesis students. Sibel is currently working as an Assistant Professor Strategic Human Resource Management at the Department of Business Administration at Radboud University.